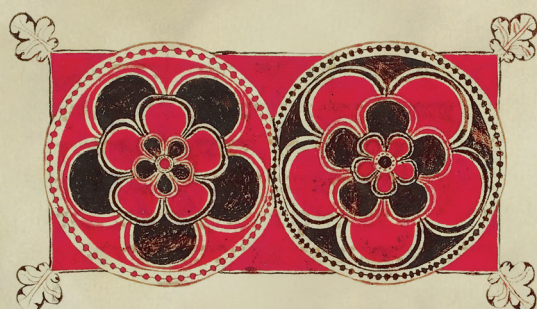
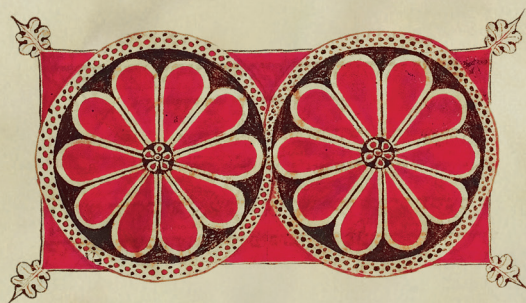




*Jesus as the Son of
1-2 Samuel's David*

AN INTERTEXTUAL READING
OF THE GOSPEL OF MATTHEW



MARC GRØNBECH-DAM

BRILL

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An Intertextual Reading of the Gospel of Matthew

By

Marc Grønbech-Dam



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The Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data is available online at <https://catalog.loc.gov>
LC record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2024001558>

Typeface for the Latin, Greek, and Cyrillic scripts: "Brill". See and download: brill.com/brill-typeface.

ISSN 0928-0731

ISBN 978-90-04-69388-3 (hardback)

ISBN 978-90-04-69390-6 (e-book)

DOI 10.1163/9789004693906

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Acknowledgments

The following is a revised version of my doctoral thesis submitted to the University of Aberdeen and Trinity College Bristol. Writing a doctoral thesis is the culmination of a long and arduous process, and I am grateful for the people who have helped me on my academic journey. First, I would like to thank Paul Anderson and the editorial board at Brill's Biblical Interpretation Series for accepting my thesis for publication. I am grateful to Paul Anderson and the reviewers for their comments and proposals for improving my work. It has been a pleasure to work with Marjolein van Zuylen and Christina Uy. I am thankful for their patience and guidance regarding edits and typesetting.

I also wish to thank the theology faculty at Vanguard University of Southern California, who not only poured into me personally but also sparked my initial passion for biblical scholarship. A special thanks to Bill Dogterom, Frank Macchia, April Westbrook, Jerry Camery-Hoggatt, and William C. Williams. In addition, I owe a great deal to the dedicated librarians at Vanguard University, who worked tirelessly with my abundant requests for inter-library loans. Many thanks to Steven Valdez, Jack Morgan, and above all, Pam Crenshaw. Pam's willingness to go beyond the call of duty to acquire books for me has been invaluable.

I owe more than I still realize to my supervisor, Craig A. Evans. His encyclopedic knowledge of the New Testament and its *Umwelt* is awe-inspiring. I could not have asked for a more knowledgeable supervisor. Thanks to Craig for his patience with me, and for allowing me to form my own ideas and opinions without imposing his own. I am especially grateful for his unwavering faith in me and my project, even when I doubted. J.P. Davies also deserves recognition for his astute comments and help to rein in my research when it became too convoluted, lengthy, or superfluous. Without him, I probably would have written two dissertations rather than one. I am also indebted to Dan Gurtner, Bruce Henning, and Nate Ridlehoover for their incisive feedback and comments.

The journey of post-graduate research, especially part-time and distance-based, is often lonely. I appreciate my friends and colleagues at Vanguard University for their continued support and encouragement throughout the project. I am particularly thankful for the numerous friends I made on this journey, and I owe much to Jason Miller, Brian LePort, Michael Spalione, Erica Mongé-Greer, Bruce Henning, Nate Ridlehoover, Jarrett Van Tine, Matthew Moravec, Nate Collins, Alicia Jackson, and Aaron Woods. Without these friendships, invigorating talks, laughter, and support, I am not sure I would have seen this project to its completion. Many thanks to Trinity College, particularly

Justin Stratis, for making the annual post-graduate conference fun and stimulating. My examiners, Steve Walton and B.J. Oropeza, also deserve my sincerest appreciation for their inspired and supportive comments, which helped improve the final product and opened up avenues for further research.

And finally, my wife, Jenelle, deserves special recognition for her unwavering support, belief in me, and encouragement to pursue my dream. Her endless overtime work has allowed me to pursue post-graduate studies without added financial pressures and restraints. I am beyond grateful and exceedingly lucky to live with her in service to Jesus.

Abbreviations

AB	Anchor Bible
ABD	<i>Anchor Bible Dictionary</i> . Edited by D.N. Freedman. 6 vols. New York, 1992.
ABRL	Anchor Bible Reference Library
AcT	<i>Acta Theologica</i>
AJA	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
AOTC	Apollos Old Testament Commentary
AGJU	Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums
AnBibSt	Analecta Biblica, Studia
ANE	Ancient Near East
ANEM	Ancient Near East Monographs
ANET	<i>Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament</i> . Edited by James B. Pritchard. 3d ed. Princeton, 1969.
ANF	<i>The Ante-Nicene Fathers</i> . Edited by A. Roberts and J. Donaldson. 1885–1887. 10 vols. Repr. Peabody, 1994.
AS	Assyriological Studies
AYBRL	Anchor Yale Bible Reference Library
BAGL	<i>Biblical and Ancient Greek Linguistics</i>
BBR	<i>Bulletin for Biblical Research</i>
BCOTWP	Baker Commentary on the Old Testament Wisdom and Psalms
BDAG	Bauer, W., F.W. Danker, W.F. Arndt, and F.W. Gingrich. <i>Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature</i> . 3d ed. Chicago, 1999.
BECNT	Baker Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament
BETL	Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologiarum lovaniensium
BG	Biblische Gestalten
BHGNT	Baylor Handbook on the Greek New Testament
Bib	<i>Biblica</i>
BibCom	Biblical Commentaries
BibInt	<i>Biblical Interpretation</i>
BINS	Biblical Interpretation Series
BibOr	Biblica Et Orientalia
Bijdr	<i>Bijdragen: Tijdschrift voor filosofie en theologie</i>
BK	<i>Bibel und Kirche</i>
BLG	Biblical Languages: Greek
BMSEC	Baylor-Mohr Siebeck Studies in Early Christianity
BNT	Die Botschaft des Neuen Testaments
BR	<i>Biblical Research</i>

BRLJ	Brill Reference Library of Judaism
BTB	<i>Biblical Theology Bulletin</i>
BTS	Biblisch-Theologische Studien
BWA(N)T	Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten und Neuen Testament
BZ	<i>Biblische Zeitschrift</i>
BZAW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
BZNW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft
CBQ	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
CBR	<i>Currents in Biblical Research</i>
CI	<i>Critical Inquiry</i>
ConBNT	Coniectanea Biblica: New Testament Series
ConBOT	Coniectanea Biblica: Old Testament Series
CQS	Companion to the Qumran Scrolls
CSCO	Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium
CSEL	Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum
CT	Cahiers théologiques
DCLS	Deuterocanonical and Cognate Literature Studies
DJD	Discoveries in the Judaean Desert
DKNT	Dansk Kommentar til det Nye Testamente
DSD	<i>Dead Sea Discoveries</i>
DTT	<i>Dansk Teologisk Tidsskrift</i>
EBib	<i>Études Bibliques</i>
EBR	<i>Encyclopedia of the Bible and Its Reception</i> . Edited by Hans-Josef Klauck et al. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2009.
EC	<i>Early Christianity</i>
EDEJ	<i>Eerdmans Dictionary of Early Judaism</i> . Edited by John J. Collins and Daniel C. Harlow. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2010.
ESTJ	<i>T&T Clark Encyclopedia of Second Temple Judaism</i> . Edited by Daniel M. Gurtner and Loren T. Stuckenbruck. 2 vols. London: T&T Clark, 2020.
ExpTim	<i>Expository Times</i>
FAT	Forschungen zum Alten Testament
FC	Fathers of the Church
FRLANT	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments
GD	Gorgias Dissertations
GE	Franco Montanari. <i>The Brill Dictionary of Ancient Greek</i> . Edited by Madeleine Goh and Chad Schroeder. Translated by Rachel Barritt-Costa et al. Leiden: Brill, 2015.
GELS	Takamitsu Muraoka. <i>A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint</i> . Leuven: Peeters, 2009.

<i>HALOT</i>	Ludwig Koehler, Walter Baumgartner, and Johann J. Stamm. <i>The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament</i> . Translated and edited under the supervision of Mervyn E.J. Richardson. 2 vols. Leiden: Brill, 2001.
HBM	Hebrew Bible Monographs
<i>HBT</i>	<i>Horizons in Biblical Theology</i>
HCS	Hellenistic Culture and Society
HSM	Harvard Semitic Monographs
HTA	Historisch Theologische Auslegung
HThKNT	Herders Theologischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament
<i>HTR</i>	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
<i>HUCA</i>	<i>Hebrew Union College Annual</i>
<i>HvTst</i>	<i>Hervormde Teologiese Studies</i>
ICC	International Critical Commentary
<i>Int</i>	<i>Interpretation</i>
<i>JAAR</i>	<i>Journal of the American Academy of Religion</i>
<i>JAB</i>	<i>Journal for the Aramaic Bible</i>
<i>JBL</i>	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
<i>JBQ</i>	<i>Jewish Bible Quarterly</i>
JCPs	Jewish and Christian Perspectives Series
<i>JEH</i>	<i>Journal of Ecclesiastical History</i>
JHTS	Johns Hopkins Textual Studies
<i>JJMJS</i>	<i>Journal of the Jesus Movement in Its Jewish Setting</i>
<i>JJS</i>	<i>Journal of Jewish Studies</i>
JPS	Jewish Publication Society
<i>JQR</i>	<i>Jewish Quarterly Review</i>
<i>JR</i>	<i>Journal of Religion</i>
<i>JSJ</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of Judaism</i>
JSJSup	Journal for the Study of Judaism: Supplement Series
<i>JSHS</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the Historical Jesus</i>
<i>JSNT</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the New Testament</i>
JSNTSup	Journal for the Study of the New Testament: Supplement Series
<i>JSOT</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the Old Testament</i>
JSOTSup	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament: Supplement Series
<i>JSP</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha</i>
JSPSup	Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha: Supplement Series
<i>JSS</i>	<i>Journal of Semitic Studies</i>
<i>JTI</i>	<i>Journal of Theological Interpretation</i>
<i>JTS</i>	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
KNT	Kommentar Till Nya Testamentet
LBS	Linguistic Biblical Studies

LD	Lectio Divina
LEC	Library of Early Christianity
LEH	Johan Lust, Erik Eynikel, and Katrin Hauspie, eds. <i>Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint</i> . Rev. ed. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2003.
LHBOTS	Library of Hebrew Bible/Old Testament Studies
LNTS	Library of New Testament Studies
LSJ	Liddell, H.G., R. Scott, H.S. Jones, <i>A Greek-English Lexicon</i> . 9th ed. with revised supplement. Oxford. 1996.
LSTS	Library of Second Temple Studies
NCBC	New Cambridge Bible Commentary
NIBCOT	New International Biblical Commentary on the Old Testament
NICNT	New International Commentary on the New Testament
NICOT	New International Commentary on the Old Testament
NIDOTTE	<i>New International Dictionary of Old Testament Theology and Exegesis</i> . Edited by Willem A. VanGemeren. 5 vols. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1997.
NIGTC	New International Greek Testament Commentary
NLH	New Literary History
<i>NovT</i>	<i>Novum Testamentum</i>
NovTSup	Novum Testamentum Supplements
NSBT	New Studies in Biblical Theology
NTL	New Testament Library
NTM	New Testament Monographs
<i>NTS</i>	<i>New Testament Studies</i>
OBO	Orbis biblicus et orientalis
OLD	Oxford Latin Dictionary. Edited by P.G.W. Glare. Oxford: Clarendon, 1982.
<i>OTE</i>	<i>Old Testament Essays</i>
OTL	Old Testament Library
<i>OTP</i>	<i>Old Testament Pseudepigrapha</i> . Edited by James H. Charlesworth. 2 vols. New York: Doubleday, 1983, 1985.
OTRM	Oxford Theology and Religion Monographs
<i>OTWSA</i>	<i>Ou-Testamentiese Werkgemeenskap in Suid-Afrika</i>
<i>PhilStud</i>	<i>Philosophical Studies</i>
<i>PTL</i>	<i>PTL: A Journal for Descriptive Poetics and Theory of Literature</i>
PVTG	Pseudepigrapha Veteris Testamenti Graece
QSP	Quellen und Studien zur Philosophie
<i>RB</i>	<i>Revue biblique</i>
<i>RENT</i>	<i>Routledge Encyclopedia of Narrative Theory</i> . Edited by David Herman, Manfred Jahn and Marie-Laure Ryan. New York, NY: Routledge, 2005.
<i>RevQ</i>	<i>Revue de Qumran</i>
RINAP	Royal Inscriptions of the Neo-Assyrian Period

SAIS	Studies in the Aramaic Interpretation of Scripture
SANT	Studien zum Alten und Neuen Testaments
SBG	Studies in Biblical Greek
SBL	Society of Biblical Literature
SBLAIL	Society of Biblical Literature Ancient Israel and its Literature Series
SBLEJL	Society of Biblical Literature Early Judaism and Its Literature Series
SBLDS	Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series
SBLECL	Society of Biblical Literature Early Christianity and Its Literature Series
SBLMS	Society of Biblical Literature Monograph Series
SBLSCS	Society of Biblical Literature Septuagint and Cognate Studies
<i>SBLSP</i>	<i>Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers</i>
SBS	Stuttgarter Bibelstudien
<i>SEÅ</i>	<i>Svensk exegetisk årsbok</i>
SEJTFÅA	Studier i exegetik och judaistik utgivna af Teologiska fakulteten vid Åbo Akademi
SERAPHME	Studies in Education and Religion in Ancient and Pre-Modern History in the Mediterranean and Its Environs
SFSHJ	South Florida Studies in the History of Judaism
SJ	Studia Judaica
<i>SJOT</i>	<i>Scandinavian Journal of the Old Testament</i>
SNTSMS	Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series
SO	Symbolae Osloenses
SP	Sacra Pagina
<i>SR</i>	<i>Studies in Religion</i>
SSEJC	Studies in Scripture in Early Judaism and Christianity
StBibLit	Studies in Biblical Literature (Lang)
STDJ	Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah
StUNT	Studien zur Umwelt des Neuen Testaments
SVTG	Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum
SVTP	Studia in Veteris Testamenti pseudepigraphica
SymS	Symposium Series
TBN	Themes in Biblical Narrative
<i>TC</i>	<i>TC: A Journal of Biblical Textual Criticism</i>
<i>TDNT</i>	<i>Theological Dictionary of the New Testament</i> . Edited by G. Kittel and G. Friedrich. Translated by G.W. Bromiley. 10 vols. Grand Rapids, 1964–76.
<i>TDOT</i>	<i>Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament</i> . Edited by G.J. Botterweck and H. Ringgren. Translated by J.T. Willis, G.W. Bromiley, and D.E. Green. 15 vols. Grand Rapids, 1974–.
THKNT	Theologischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament

<i>TLNT</i>	<i>Theological Lexicon of the New Testament</i> . Ceslas Spicq. Translated and edited by James D. Ernest. 3 vols. Peabody, MA: Henrickson, 1994.
<i>TSJ</i>	Texte und Studien zum antiken Judentum
<i>TynBul</i>	<i>Tyndale Bulletin</i>
<i>USQR</i>	<i>Union Seminary Quarterly Review</i>
<i>VE</i>	<i>Verbum et Ecclesia</i>
<i>VT</i>	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
<i>VTSup</i>	Vetus Testamentum Supplements
<i>WBC</i>	Word Biblical Commentary
<i>WMANT</i>	Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament
<i>WUNT</i>	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
<i>ZAW</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
<i>ZECNT</i>	Zondervan Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament
<i>ZKNT</i>	Zahn- Kommentar zum Neuen Testament
<i>ZNW</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>

The Question of 1–2 Samuel in Matthew

1.1 Introduction

The author of Matthew's Gospel seems intent on linking Jesus to the holistic narrative of the Jewish Scriptures.¹ Matthew quotes and alludes to the Jewish Scriptures often. In numbering the potential allusions and citations in the Nestle-Aland appendix, *Loci Citati Vel Allegati*, Donald Senior counted 294 implicit citations and allusions.² In fact, Matthew goes to painstaking lengths to link Jesus with characters from the Jewish Scriptures, especially King David.³ Matthew begins his Gospel with the phrase βίβλος γενέσεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ υἱοῦ Δαυὶδ (Matt 1:1), which primes the reader to expect various Davidic motifs in the narrative as well as numerous allusions to David.⁴ Indeed, Matthew presents Jesus as a new type of David,⁵ and several scholarly works investigate the Matthean Jesus as a Davidic shepherd figure.⁶

- 1 W.D. Davies and Dale C. Allison, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel According to St. Matthew*, 3 vols. (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1988–97), 1:33–58; R.T. France, *Matthew: Evangelist and Teacher* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1998), 166–200; and Joel Kennedy, *The Recapitulation of Israel: Use of Israel's History in Matthew 1:1–4:11*, WUNT 2.257 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008), 25, 52–57, 71–72, 78–81, 102.
- 2 Donald Senior, "The Lure of the Formula Quotations: Re-assessing Matthew's Use of the Old Testament with the Passion Narrative as a Test Case," in *Scriptures in the Gospels*, ed. Christopher M. Tuckett, BETL 131 (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1997), 89. The New Testament Greek is taken from the Nestle-Aland 28th edition unless otherwise noted.
- 3 J.D. Kingsbury, "The Title 'Son of David' in Matthew's Gospel," *JBL* 95 (1976): 591–602; Donald J. Verspeut, "The Davidic Messiah and Matthew's Jewish Christianity," *SBLSP* 34 (1995): 102–16; Lidija Novakovic, "Jesus as the Davidic Messiah in Matthew," *HBT* 19 (1997): 148–91; Craig A. Evans, *Matthew*, NCBC (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 32; Matthias Konradt, *Israel, Kirche und die Völker im Matthäusevangelium*, WUNT 215 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2007), 1–16, 393–405.
- 4 Just as David is the OT figure most named in the Qumran writings, so also in the New Testament. See Walter Dietrich, *David: Der Herrscher mit der Harfe*, 2nd ed., BG 14 (Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2016), 94.
- 5 H. Daniel Zacharias, *Matthew's Presentation of the Son of David: Davidic Tradition and Typology in the Gospel of Matthew* (London: T&T Clark, 2016).
- 6 See for example Lidija Novakovic, *Messiah, the Healer of the Sick: A Study of Jesus as the Son of David in the Gospel of Matthew*, WUNT 2.170 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003); Clay A. Ham, *The Coming King and the Rejected Shepherd: Matthew's Reading of Zechariah's Messianic Hope*, NTM 4 (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix, 2005); Y.S. Chae, *Jesus as the Eschatological Davidic Shepherd: Studies in the Old Testament, Second Temple Judaism, and in the Gospel of*

However, none of these works substantially investigate the potential background of David's role as the shepherd-ruler of Israel based on 1–2 Samuel. 1–2 Samuel, after all, contain the main story of David as a young shepherd boy rising to power and eventually being anointed to shepherd the people of Israel (2 Sam 5:2). It seems relevant to focus on 1–2 Samuel's view of Davidic kingship and investigate how and if this view emerges in Matthew's portrayal of Jesus as a new type of Davidic shepherd-ruler (Matt 2:6). Certainly, shepherding and being a son of David seems to be deliberately coupled in Matthew so that one can reasonably agree with Carolin Ziethe that "Als Sohn Davids ist Jesus zu den „verlorenen Schafen des Hauses Israel" (Mt 2,6; 15,24) gesandt."⁷

1.2 Reason for Research

I find it curious that a thoroughgoing investigation has not yet been produced into the occurrences of 1–2 Samuel in the Gospel of Matthew, especially considering the incipit $\nu\iota\omicron\upsilon \Delta\alpha\upsilon\iota\delta$ which invites the reader to think about 1–2 Samuel.⁸ Concerning the title $\nu\iota\omicron\upsilon \Delta\alpha\upsilon\iota\delta$ in the incipit, Kim Paffenroth notes: "the most obvious implications of the title are those associated with David (and therefore his son) as king."⁹ A natural place to look for these Davidic implications is in the books narrating his life, namely 1–2 Samuel.¹⁰ Monographs have been written about the occurrences of Jewish prophetic literature in Matthew,¹¹

Matthew, WUNT 2.216 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006); Joel Willitts, *Matthew's Messianic Shepherd-King: In Search of 'the Lost Sheep of the House of Israel'*, BZNW 147 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2007); Wayne Baxter, *Israel's Only Shepherd: Matthew's Shepherd Motif and His Social Setting*, LNTS 457 (London: T&T Clark, 2012); Nicholas G. Piotrowski, *Matthew's New David at the End of Exile: A Socio-Rhetorical Study of Scriptural Quotations*, NovTSup 170 (Leiden: Brill, 2016).

- 7 Carolin Ziethe, *Auf seinen Namen werden die Völker hoffen: Die matthäische Rezeption der Schriften Israels zur Begründung des universalen Heils*, BZNW 233 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2018), 368.
- 8 Jacques Cazeaux, *L'évangile selon Matthieu: Jérusalem entre Bethléem et la Galilée: Essai*, LD 231 (Paris: Cerf, 2009), 26.
- 9 Kim Paffenroth, "Jesus as Anointed and Healing Son of David in the Gospel of Matthew," *Bib* 80 (1999): 551.
- 10 John Mark Jones, "Subverting the Textuality of Davidic Messianism: Matthew's Presentation of the Genealogy and the Davidic Title," *CBQ* 56 (1994): 261.
- 11 Richard Beaton, *Isaiah's Christ in Matthew's Gospel*, SNTSMS 123 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004); Chae, *Jesus as the Eschatological Davidic Shepherd*; C.A. Ham, *The Coming King*; Piotrowski, *New David*; Michael Knowles, *Jeremiah in Matthew's Gospel: The Rejected-Prophet Motif in Matthean Redaction*, JSNTSup 68 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993).

yet 1–2 Samuel have been largely ignored. Part of the reason for this might be because 1–2 Samuel are not much quoted in Matthew and that shepherd language is used sparingly and often not in relation to 1–2 Samuel. However, the NA²⁸ appendix, *Loci Citati Vel Allegati*, lists 18 potential citations and allusions. But I believe we have more intertextual connections, and my study will survey a total of 40 possible citations and allusions to 1–2 Samuel. As a foundation, Matthew has three strong and reliable intertextual connections to 1–2 Samuel, which justifies further systematic investigations into the use of 1–2 Samuel in Matthew.

The first is Matthew 2:6, a well-known compound citation of Mic 5:1–3 and 2 Sam 5:2 that links shepherd language to Matthew's portrayal of Jesus.¹² The link between David's anointing to be a ruler who will shepherd Israel (2 Sam 5:2) and Jesus' identity (Matt 2:6) thus warrants further thematic and intertextual investigation. In the second, Matthew betrays knowledge of 1–2 Samuel in his version of the Sabbath controversy in Matt 12:1–5. Matthew likely rewrites Mark on this point as he is aware that Abiathar was not a high priest in 1 Sam 21:1–9 and therefore excludes him from his retelling of the event. The third reliable intertextual connection is found in Matt 21:14–15, which is perhaps less noticeable than the other two but nevertheless presents a strong case.¹³ First, we may note that the term “son of David” appears in Matt 21:15, which focuses the ideal reader's attention on David or Solomon,¹⁴ and it appears Matthew has adapted Mark's account and added the element of healing.¹⁵ Second, the proposed intertext (2 Sam 5:8) is made stronger because we have witnessed an intertextual link to 2 Sam 5:2 earlier in Matt 2:6. Following his anointing as king of Israel (2 Sam 5:1–3), David rushes to Jerusalem and captures the city, and the “lame” and “blind” are declared to be David's enemies (2 Sam 5:6–8). In an ironic reversal, Jesus too enters Jerusalem, although the “lame” and “blind” (Matt 21:14) hail Jesus as their messiah, the “son of David” (Matt 21:15). The

12 Maarten J.J. Menken, “Composite Citations in the Gospel of Matthew,” in *Composite Citations in Antiquity: vol 2 New Testament Uses*, eds. Sean A. Adams and Seth M. Ehorn, LNTS 593 (London: T&T Clark, 2018), 38–40, 60.

13 The NA²⁸ appendix, *Loci Citati Vel Allegati*, lists 2 Sam 5:8 as a possible allusion. Many commentaries also list this intertextual possibility. For reference see Donald Hagner, *Matthew 14–28*, WBC 33B (Dallas: Word Incorporated, 1998), 601; Evans, *Matthew*, 361–62; Mogens Müller, *Matthäusevangeliet*, DKNT 3 (Aarhus: Aarhus Universitetsforlag, 2000), 439; Daniel J. Harrington, *The Gospel of Matthew*, SP 1 (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1991), 294; Tord Fornberg, *Matthäusevangeliet*, 2 vols. KNT (Stockholm: Verbum Förlag, 1989–99), 2:369.

14 Anthony Le Donne, *The Historiographical Jesus: Memory, Typology, and the Son of David* (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2009), 94.

15 Evans, *Matthew*, 361.

intertextual link makes lexical and thematic sense, and becomes the third reliable intertextual anchor point allowing for further investigations.

Finally, it is evident that David's life, as presented in 1–2 Samuel, reverberates throughout Jesus' passion narrative in all the synoptic Gospels.¹⁶ Nathan Johnson's recent research focuses on Davidic portrayals in Jesus' passion in Matthew's Gospel vis-à-vis the Psalms of Lament and the Absalom revolt.¹⁷ Johnson has accurately noted a lacuna in scholarship dealing with Davidic typology in Matthew's passion narrative,¹⁸ and part of his focus on the Absalom revolt (2 Sam 15–16) shows Matthew is conversant with 1–2 Samuel beyond the three anchor points mentioned previously. We should note that other Gospels (Luke 1:28–55)¹⁹ and (John 11:50; 12:26)²⁰ likewise seem to offer intertextual links to 1–2 Samuel, which, if so, encourage a systematic investigation of the occurrences of 1–2 Samuel in Matthew.²¹

I will demonstrate two things by surveying the recent history of research regarding the use of the Old Testament in Matthew and the Davidic shepherd motif in Matthew. First, I will establish the lack of a systematic investigation of 1–2 Samuel in Matthew. Second, I will highlight how scholarship has largely overlooked the connection between *נגיד*/ἡγούμενος and shepherding in 2 Sam 5:2 and its link to Matt 2:6.²² These two oversights provide the impetus

16 Raymond E. Brown, *Death of the Messiah – From Gethsemane to the Grave: A Commentary on the Passion Narratives in the Four Gospels*, 2 vols., ABRL (New York, NY: Doubleday, 1994), 1:126–48, 2:1448.

17 Nathan C. Johnson, *The Suffering Son of David in Matthew's Passion Narrative*, SNTSMS 183 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2023). My study does not focus on the Psalms of Lament, nor does it focus solely on the passion. My study systematically investigates occurrences of 1–2 Samuel in all of Matthew, with a particular focus on Matt 2:6.

18 Nathan C. Johnson, "The Passion according to David: Matthew's Arrest Narrative, the Absalom Revolt, and Militant Messianism," *CBQ* 80 (2018): 247–72.

19 Specifically, 1 Sam 2:1–10 and 2 Sam 7 are important to Luke. For reference see Sarah Harris, *The Davidic Shepherd King in the Lukan Narrative*, LNTS 558 (London: T&T Clark, 2016), 46–50.

20 Margaret Daly-Denton, *David in the Fourth Gospel: The Johannine Reception of the Psalms*, AGJU 47 (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 292–99.

21 Additionally, several deuterocanonical, pseudepigraphical, and Qumran texts highlight events from the life of David in 1–2 Samuel. See chapter five of this study.

22 Wayne Baxter mentions that *נגיד* is linked to shepherding, and that *נגיד* is not properly translated as "king." However, without questioning whether the title of *נגיד* might be different from *מלך*, he accepts Hunziker-Rodewald's conclusion that *נגיד* means a political and military leader like *מלך*, see Regine Hunziker-Rodewald, *Hirt und Herde: Ein Beitrag zum alttestamentlichen Gottesverständnis*, BWA(N)T 155 (Kohlhammer: Stuttgart, 2001), 48. Baxter then moves on to the significance of the shepherd-king motif for the prophetic literature in Jeremiah, Zechariah and Ezekiel. See Baxter, *Israel's Only Shepherd*, 44–45.

for this study. Furthermore, the lack of interpreting the above elements in light of Matthew's larger narrative also provides a rationale for this research. It seems likely that 1–2 Samuel provide some contextual background from which the reader can better understand Jesus as the son of David and especially as the promised Davidic ruler who will shepherd the people (Matt 2:6). Because Matthew 2:6 provides a relatively straightforward link to 2 Sam 5:2,²³ serving as an early and programmatic description of Jesus as the coming ruler who shall shepherd the people, shepherd language will constitute a substantial part of this work.

1.3 Recent History of Research

There is no shortage of research on shepherd motifs in the Gospels, partly because shepherd language is pervasive in the Jewish Scriptures. Therefore, since it is beyond this project's scope to thoroughly investigate the history of scholarship on shepherd imagery in Matthew, I will summarize a few pertinent studies and note their conclusions, strengths, and weaknesses. Similarly, the research that systematically investigates occurrences of the Old Testament in Matthew is also vast. Still, two monographs and a series of edited volumes merit attention and will serve as interlocutors regarding the methodology of this work.

1.3.1 Michael Knowles

In his 1993 monograph, *Jeremiah in Matthew's Gospel: The Rejected-Prophet Motif in Matthean Redaction*, Michael Knowles utilizes Richard Hays' methodology for detecting intertextual links to explore "Matthew's use of Jeremiah traditions."²⁴ Knowles astutely notes that allusions to Jeremiah might be composite and that it is necessary to establish how the part from Jeremiah

23 Menken, "Composite Citations in the Gospel of Matthew," 37–40; Hagner, *Matthew 1–13*, WBC 33A (Dallas: Word Incorporated, 1995), 29; Evans, *Matthew*, 55; Willitts, *Matthew's Messianic Shepherd-King*, 101; Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 1:243; Ulrich Luz, *Matthew: A Commentary*, Hermeneia, 3 vols. (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 2001–2007), 1:113; Müller, *Matthäusevangeliet*, 97; Fornberg, *Matthäusevangeliet*, 1:32; Woojin Chung, *Translation Theory and the Old Testament in Matthew: The Possibilities of Skopos Theory*, LBS 15 (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 97; NA²⁸, 3, 846.

24 Knowles, *Jeremiah in Matthew's Gospel*, 165. Hays' criteria are laid out in his seminal work on Paul's letters. For reference see Richard B. Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1989), 29–31. I will treat Hays' own development of his criteria for detecting intertexts in chapter 2 (methodology).

contributes to the larger whole.²⁵ Out of 22 possible intertextual connections to Jeremiah in Matthew, Knowles concludes that only three are explicit, while the remainder may be viewed on a spectrum of likelihood ranging from clear, as in Matt 21:13, to rather vague as in a shared Deuteronomistic image of judgment in both Matt 3:12 and Jer 5:17.²⁶

1.3.2 *Clay A. Ham*

Ham's work from 2005, *The Coming King and the Rejected Shepherd*, focuses on quotations and allusions from Zechariah in Matthew's Gospel.²⁷ Ham uses a set of criteria from Craig Evans to analyze the quotations and also employs Richard Hays' classic criteria for echoes and allusions.²⁸ Ham then presents a thematic and theological analysis of the use of Zechariah in Matthew, which suggests Zechariah's rejected shepherd motif influences the evangelist.²⁹ Ham makes a thoughtful connection between kingship and shepherding. However, he does not address the vital link in this regard found in the Davidic shepherd-ruler reference in Matt 2:6. This appears to be the result of his emphasis on the intertextual relationship between Matthew and Zechariah, rather than a general focus on messianic hopes and broader intertexts in the Gospel. It is noteworthy that Ham mentions allusions to several writings in the Jewish Scriptures, and he briefly acknowledges the importance of 2 Sam 5:2 as he treats the theological use of Zechariah in Matthew.³⁰ Ham works with careful definitions of quotations and allusions and narrows a list of 18 possible allusions down to eight. My study will likewise use Hays as a dialogue partner but will also form a hybrid method by adding insights from other scholars like Dale Allison and Ulrich Luz.

1.3.3 *The New Testament and the Scriptures of Israel Series*

Maarten J.J. Menken and Steven Moyise edit a series *The New Testament and the Scriptures of Israel*. The series is a result of decades of devoted studies of the Old Testament in the New Testament at the Annual Hawarden Seminar in the UK³¹ and covers the Psalms, Isaiah, Deuteronomy, Genesis, and most recently,

25 Knowles, *Jeremiah in Matthew's Gospel*, 165.

26 Ibid., 217–19.

27 Ham, *The Coming King*, 20–81, 84–106.

28 Ibid., 15–17. I will define these terms in the subsequent chapter on method.

29 Ibid., 125.

30 Ibid., 108–20.

31 Susan Docherty, "Foreword to the Hawarden Anniversary Volume," in *Methodology in the Use of the Old Testament in the New: Context and Criteria*, eds. David Allen and Steve Smith, LNTS 579 (London: T&T Clark, 2021), xii.

the minor Prophets in the New Testament. Each volume has a chapter devoted to the occurrences of said texts in Matthew written by various authors.

Currently, no work has been produced that covers 1–2 Samuel in the New Testament, let alone Matthew, which highlights the value of the present study. While the volumes in the series are generally helpful, they do suffer from methodological inconsistencies when exploring potential intertexts because the series consists of essays written by different authors employing various methods. Furthermore, the investigations of potential intertexts must often be limited to quotations rather than all possible allusions due to the nature of an edited volume with multiple authors covering numerous New Testament texts.³² These limitations further indicate the usefulness of the present study, focusing systematically on the use of 1–2 Samuel in Matthew.

1.3.4 *Conclusions about Intertextual Studies and the Use of 1–2 Samuel in Matthew*

Both Knowles' and Ham's monographs make use of Hays' criteria and are able to be more thorough and systematic in their examinations than the T&T Clark volumes edited by Menken and Moyise. Knowles and Ham thus create a more holistic and unified look at how the proposed intertextual connections to Jeremiah and Zechariah influence Matthew's narrative and theology. My study will employ a similar systematic and comprehensive approach to the use of 1–2 Samuel in Matthew. Finally, Knowles' insistence on explicating the significance of the various parts of a composite citation or allusion will become pertinent when this study encounters the composite citation of Micah 5:1–3 and 2 Sam 5:2 in Matt 2:6. Knowles bases much of his investigation on the NA²⁸ list *Loci Citate Vel Allegati*. While the list is helpful, my study will not be limited to its suggestions.

1.3.5 *Studies on Davidic and Shepherd Motifs in Matthew*

The studies on David and David-as-shepherd in Matthew are plentiful, and I will summarize how the most recent studies conceptualize the shepherd motif in Matthew. Specifically, I will investigate the degree to which these studies incorporate 1–2 Samuel and which themes and motifs are associated with the Davidic shepherd imagery they present.

32 Maarten J.J. Menken, "Psalms in Matthew's Gospel," in *The Psalms in the New Testament*, eds. Steven Moyise and Maarten J.J. Menken (London: T&T Clark, 2004), 62; Maarten J.J. Menken, "Deuteronomy in Matthew's Gospel," in *Deuteronomy in the New Testament*, eds. Steven Moyise and Maarten J.J. Menken, LNTS 358 (London: T&T Clark, 2007), 43.

1.3.6 *Young S. Chae*

Chae's study from 2006 investigates shepherd language and Davidic Christology in Matthew. He argues that Matthew's portrayals of Jesus as a compassionate shepherd echo similar scriptural passages about Davidic shepherd figures in Mic 2–5 and Ezek 34–37.³³ However, Chae's work mainly focuses on Matthew's interaction with the Davidic shepherd tradition in Ezekiel. Chae, like Ham, uses Hays as a springboard for the echoes of Old Testament texts in Matthew. Chae includes Matt 2:6 in his investigation of Jesus as an eschatological Davidic shepherd, yet he does not address connections to David in 1–2 Samuel and focuses on texts from the latter prophets. Chae's work surveys a broad range of Davidic shepherd texts and traditions but lacks a more thorough investigation of the link between the concepts of shepherding and ruling, as evidenced in Matt 2:6. Also, he does not fully address the possibility that other roles of the Davidic shepherd can be subsumed under ruling, such as judging, protecting, and promoting justice and welfare for the people.

However, Chae does note that justice is a vital duty of the kings and rulers of the ancient world, especially when they are called "shepherds."³⁴ The Davidic shepherd motif is traced further into Second Temple texts like 4 Ezra, where Chae again notes the importance of justice and says that if the description of the Davidic messiah is devoid of shepherd language then "he tends to be described as more likely a militant figure."³⁵ As Chae looks at the influence of Ezek 34 on Matt 25:31–46, he suggests that justice and compassion are at the forefront when speaking of judgment couched in shepherd and sheep language.³⁶ As the eschatological Davidic shepherd, Jesus "aims primarily to restore justice within the covenantal community."³⁷

1.3.7 *Joel Willitts*

Willitts' 2007 work substantially investigates the nationalistic and political overtones of the Davidic shepherd metaphor. Willitts solidifies Davidic messianism as a central tenet of Matthew's Gospel; it guides the story. Willitts points to Chae's previous work and discusses the importance of Matt 2:6, which links the messianic hope to shepherding. Willitts then states his own emphasis on the investigation of this messianic shepherd hope in light of Matthew's "sheep without a shepherd" segments (Matt 10:5–6; 15:24).³⁸

33 Chae, *Jesus as the Eschatological Davidic Shepherd*, 32–76.

34 Ibid., 20–24.

35 Ibid., 156.

36 Ibid., 221–27.

37 Ibid., 391.

38 Willitts, *Matthew's Messianic Shepherd-King*, 1–3.

Willitts notes Matt 2:6 is a compound quote, portraying Jesus as a shepherd-king who is contrasted to both Herod and Pilate in the Gospel.³⁹ Willitts also notes that Matthew's shepherd language functions differently from what we encounter in Luke since Matthew's shepherd language is never literal and almost exclusively messianic.⁴⁰ Willitts says Matt 2:6 carries concrete political weight and implies that the primary purpose of evoking the shepherd metaphor from 2 Sam 5:2 is militaristic and nationalistic since it portrays Jesus as the promised Davidide who will "re-establish the Davidic Empire."⁴¹

Willitts takes care to place his investigations of pericopae within the larger narrative framework of Matthew's Gospel,⁴² which is commendable. He argues Matthew uses his story to indicate a geopolitical messianic restoration is underway.⁴³ He further notes Gentile inclusion is part of the national restoration.⁴⁴ Willitts is, despite the existence of variegated forms of messianism, committed to what he calls "restorative messianism," borrowing from Lawrence Schiffman.⁴⁵ For Willitts, the Davidic shepherd language in Matthew consistently denotes a political deliverer.⁴⁶ While Willitts is correct to note that numerous Second Temple Jewish texts describe a form of messianism that includes the regaining of territory, I believe Matthew espouses another messianic view. It is true that the land promises of the Jewish Scriptures are not nullified anywhere in the New Testament, let alone in Matthew. Therefore, Willitts' emphasis on the geographical aspects of the messianic shepherd language in Matthew is laudable and fills a lacuna in Matthean studies.

However, his statements often lack precision, and one wonders if the evocation of the re-establishment of the Davidic Empire, which Willitts believes is suggested in Matt 2:6, relates to Jesus' earthly ministry or is reserved for a future eschatological age (Matt 8:11; 24:30–31).⁴⁷ Willitts connects the shepherd

39 Willitts, *Matthew's Messianic Shepherd-King*, 108–11.

40 Ibid., 113–14.

41 Ibid., 115.

42 Ibid., 205.

43 Ibid., 215.

44 Ibid., 232.

45 Willitts, *Matthew's Messianic Shepherd-King*, 170. It is puzzling why he makes such a strong link between land and the term kingdom of God in Matthew when, in fact, Matthew predominantly uses the term kingdom of Heaven, which seems to move focus away from territorial aspects. For reference see Jonathan Pennington, *Heaven and Earth in the Gospel of Matthew*, NovTSup 126 (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 326.

46 Willitts, *Matthew's Messianic Shepherd-King*, 99, 115.

47 One could view the statement, "When Jesus is born, The Messianic Shepherd-King arrives; he is the one who will deliver Israel and re-establish the Davidic Empire," to suggest Jesus' earthly ministry is about the reestablishment of David's former empire yet

metaphor in Matt 2:6 to Jesus going to the lost sheep of Israel, which is where he announces the “soon-coming Messianic Kingdom of God/Israel,”⁴⁸ and Jesus’ earthly ministry as the “Shepherd-King” inaugurates the hoped-for “political restoration.”⁴⁹ Thus, Willitts seems to work with a two-stage model where Jesus’ life and death serve as a “preparatory step toward that longed-for restoration” to come.⁵⁰ Here I have questions about whether Jesus inaugurates the restoration or prepares for its eventual happening. Willitts seems to conflate the two terms, which he does not justify. One wonders if the shepherd metaphor in Matt 2:6, which Willitts believes signifies that Jesus will rule over the “Eschatological Empire of God,” does not also carry weight in Jesus’ earthly ministry beyond its potential national restoration overtones.⁵¹ I also wonder about the prominence of the land motif in Matthew when it often seems overshadowed by other more obvious themes and motifs.

Regardless of my questions and hesitations, this study seeks to follow Willitts’ lead by focusing more on the books of 1–2 Samuel rather than Isaiah, Ezekiel, Jeremiah, Zechariah, and Micah, as in the works of Chae and Ham. Nevertheless, I will revise Willitts’ understanding of 2 Sam 5:2 as presenting a military and territory-expanding shepherd-king.⁵² I will do so by analyzing 2 Sam 5:2 within its own context and then investigate how the text is evoked in Matt 2:6 and how 1–2 Samuel generally function in Matthew. I will demonstrate that the shepherd metaphor in the Jewish Scriptures, when joined by the term *נָגִיד/ἡγούμενος* as in 2 Sam 5:2, is primarily about the just and righteous reign of the ruler rather than militarism and the gaining of territory.⁵³ My focus will also be on Matthew’s application of the shepherd metaphor vis-à-vis Jesus’ earthly ministry, rather than its potential eschatological land restoration evocations.

1.3.8 *Wayne Baxter*

Baxter’s 2012 study employs a socio-religious analysis of the shepherd metaphor in Matthew’s Gospel, thereby departing from the more narrative-oriented approaches of the previous authors. Baxter thematically investigates shepherd imagery in the Gospel of Matthew, paying close attention to Matt 2:6, as well as

he later seems to push it into a future eschatological reality. For reference see Willitts, *Matthew’s Messianic Shepherd-King*, 115.

48 Ibid., 218.

49 Ibid., 223.

50 Ibid., 225.

51 Ibid., 175.

52 Ibid., 56–58.

53 Ibid., 56.

the later judgment pericope (Matt 24–25).⁵⁴ He notes the shepherd's mission is to heal, judge, and atone, yet little is said about ruling in justice.⁵⁵ Baxter includes a section of Roman texts because the Roman Empire would have wielded influence over people's behaviors and thus be part of the reader's cultural encyclopedia.⁵⁶

More importantly to this study, Baxter accepts the assertion that shepherding in Matthew has strong military overtones because Matt 2:6 is linked to the overtly military term in 2 Sam 5:2b, נגיד.⁵⁷ Like Willitts, Baxter assumes Matthew's Jesus must fit into a common Jewish messianic expectation of political and national restoration.⁵⁸ As with Willitts, I will seek to revise Baxter's assertion based on some exegetical work of 2 Sam 5:2 as well as the general use of the term נגיד in 1–2 Samuel. Also, Baxter's study overlooks how Matthew's own narrative might subvert national and political warrior imagery regarding the Davidic messiah.⁵⁹

1.3.9 *Nicholas G. Piotrowski*

Unlike the previous studies, Piotrowski's 2016 work moves away from shepherding and investigates Matthew's portrayal of Jesus as a new David. Piotrowski focuses on Matthew's use of Old Testament formula quotations in chapters 1–4, which he argues deal with either David, the end of exile, or both. Importantly, Piotrowski notes: "very little has been done to elucidate the hermeneutical effects such front-loading has on the level of the narrative."⁶⁰

Piotrowski argues the main intertext for Matt 2:1–12 is Mic 5:1–3. He says it is possible that this section of Matthew, especially 2:6, might allude to 2 Sam 5:2, yet he proceeds to argue for Mic 5 seemingly because it fits better into the exile-restoration motif.⁶¹ Piotrowski makes the cogent claim that if an idea exists in the text, such as exile-David, then we can assume this idea exists for the model reader (ideal reader) of Matthew's Gospel.⁶² In this way, one need not prove that the idea existed on the outside, yet it does help us establish historical plausibility to incorporate external witnesses, which is why

54 Baxter, *Israel's Only Shepherd*, 125–36, 150–54.

55 Ibid., 137.

56 Ibid., 86–87.

57 Ibid., 44–45.

58 Ibid., 135–36.

59 Ibid., 162–64.

60 Piotrowski, *Matthew's New David*, xiv.

61 Ibid., 62, 73, 87–88.

62 Ibid., 92.

Piotrowski goes on to investigate these ideas in what he calls the “late second temple Cultural Encyclopedia.”⁶³

Piotrowski investigates prophetic intertexts in Hosea, Isaiah, Micah, and Jeremiah, which leads him to conclude there is sufficient consensus amongst “the prophets” that an eschatological Davidic figure will rescue the people.⁶⁴ Piotrowski’s focus on exile, and particularly the prophetic books of Isaiah, Hosea, Micah, and Jeremiah, leaves a gap in terms of Matthew’s use of 1–2 Samuel. This study aims to fill that gap and will use some of the narrative features of Piotrowski’s study, most notably the emphasis on how beginnings shape a narrative and that whichever intertexts are encountered, one must investigate them thoroughly in their original literary context.

1.3.10 *H. Daniel Zacharias*

Zacharias employs a literary-critical analysis in his 2016 work on Davidic typology in Matthew. He argues that Matthew presents Jesus as a Davidide but redefines what it means to be the son of David.⁶⁵ Zacharias focuses on a holistic approach to Matthew and employs Stanley Porter’s categories for determining Old Testament uses in Matthew.⁶⁶ Zacharias further develops five categorizations of typology, saying his study is modeled on Dale Allison’s Moses typology, which he calls “sustained or repeated comparison” and applies it to David.⁶⁷

Zacharias’ study deftly demonstrates the preeminence of a Davidic typology in Matthew, which colors the entire narrative from beginning to end. In his section on the infancy of Jesus, Zacharias briefly argues Matt 2:6 quotes both Mic 5:2 and 2 Sam 5:2.⁶⁸ Zacharias even investigates the inclusion of 2 Sam 5:2, arguing its presence provides the reader with the information that

63 Ibid., 92.

64 Ibid., 166.

65 Zacharias, *Matthew’s Presentation of the Son of David*, 7.

66 Ibid. 9–10. Porter’s categories are numerous, and includes terms like “citation, direct quotation, allusive quotation, indirect quotation, allusive quotation, formal quotation, allusion, paraphrase, exegesis, midrash, typology, reminiscence, echo, intertextuality, influence, and tradition.” For reference see Stanley E. Porter, “The Use of the Old Testament in the New Testament: a brief comment on method and terminology,” in *Early Christian Interpretation of the Scriptures of Israel*, eds. James A. Sanders and Craig A. Evans, JSNTSup 148 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 79–96. This study will not adhere to Porter’s extensive list of terms. Rather, I will use a modified version of Hays’ criteria and view intertextual linkages on a spectrum. See upcoming chapter on method.

67 Zacharias, *Matthew’s Presentation of the Son of David*, 17.

68 Ibid., 65.

YHWH's charge to David to be a shepherd is now also applicable to Jesus.⁶⁹ Surprisingly, Zacharias does not seek to understand 2 Sam 5:2 in its larger literary context, which might have provided further typological or intertextual links to Jesus as a new David. Zacharias mentions that the coupling to 2 Sam 5:2 heightens the link to David, but it is unclear how the link is strengthened. What it means, functionally, for Jesus to shepherd like David in 2 Sam 5:2 remains obscure. Overall, Zacharias pays attention to intertexts from 1–2 Samuel,⁷⁰ and his study is an appropriate launching point for further and more thorough investigations into Matthew's specific interaction with the texts of 1–2 Samuel.

1.3.11 *Nathan C. Johnson*

Johnson's recent work focuses on a lacuna in Matthean studies, namely the use of the Psalms of Lament and the Absalom revolt in Matthew's passion narrative. The logic behind the use of these texts is that David suffers in them just like Jesus is portrayed as a suffering son of David in Matthew.⁷¹ Johnson demonstrates that while the core streams of Davidic messianism in the Second Temple period center on a militant warrior messiah or a messiah who benefits from divine violence against his enemies, Matthew's suffering messiah is a son of David because he suffered just like David did in the Psalms and Absalom revolt.⁷² By carefully going through the intertextual connections, sometimes even by examining art, Johnson demonstrates the usefulness of the Davidic lament psalms and the Absalom revolt and concludes that these texts help Matthew make sense of the arrival of Jesus the son of David and his eventual murder at the hands of the Romans. The conclusion says: "Because David suffered in this manner (οὕτως), Jesus is the Davidic messiah not *despite*, but *because of*, his parallel sufferings."⁷³

While Johnson's intertextual method differs from mine in that it looks at art,⁷⁴ his demonstration of the use of the Absalom revolt in Matthew bolsters the idea that 1–2 Samuel might constitute a significant intertextual framework for Matthew. While I do not agree with all of Johnson's assessments, his focus on Matthew's suffering son of David must be taken seriously and does not seem to be able to co-exist with Willitts' assessment of a militaristic Davidic Shepherd-King. My study shall thus demonstrate how the rest of the Gospel's

69 Ibid., 65–66.

70 Ibid., 104–11.

71 Johnson, *The Suffering Son of David*, 1–2.

72 Ibid., 62–78.

73 Ibid., 217.

74 Ibid., 31, 50, 54, 170, 173.

engagement with 1–2 Samuel corroborates or diverges from these seemingly contrary positions.

1.3.12 *Conclusions about Davidic/Shepherd Motifs in Matthew*

Recent research confirms Matthew is concerned with messianism and uses Davidic shepherd language to draw out various messianic hopes and implications. However, the secondary literature mainly focuses on the latter prophets when investigating Matthew's intertextual links to the Jewish Scriptures, and only Willitts, Zacharias, and Johnson discuss select passages from 1–2 Samuel at length. A systematic appraisal of intertextual links to 1–2 Samuel in Matthew is absent and thus creates a lacuna in the secondary literature. We can thus conclude that the lack of a systematic treatment of 1–2 Samuel in Matthew justifies the aims and purpose of this project. Consequently, I will systematically explore potential intertextual links between 1–2 Samuel and all of Matthew and their explanatory power in the narrative.

In addition, we see Baxter and Willitts are perhaps too ready to accept the assertion that shepherding has strong military overtones because it is linked to the overtly military term in 2 Sam 5:2b, נגיד.⁷⁵ However, Trygve Mettinger says נגיד does not reflect a military context,⁷⁶ and Baruch Halpern believes we have insufficient evidence to conceptualize נגיד as primarily having a military function.⁷⁷ The semantic range of נגיד (ἡγούμενος in LXX/OG) is too wide to allow for Willitts' and Baxter's narrow definition and there are several stories in 1–2 Samuel which portray the נגיד/ἡγούμενος in decidedly non-militaristic terms. If Mettinger and Halpern are correct, then some of the work done by Baxter and Willitts will require reconsideration. Indeed, Chae's notion that Davidic messianic language devoid of shepherd imagery tends to move the focus from justice to a militaristic motif might need vindication.⁷⁸ We now turn to how I will investigate 1–2 Samuel in Matthew and how I will seek to solve the problem of the meaning of נגיד/ἡγούμενος in 1–2 Samuel and its connection to Matthew.

75 Baxter, *Israel's Only Shepherd*, 44–45; Willitts, *Matthew's Messianic Shepherd-King*, 56–57.

76 Trygve Mettinger, *King and Messiah: The Civil and Sacral Legitimation of Israelite Kings*, ConBOT 8 (Lund: CWK Gleerup, 1976), 172.

77 Baruch Halpern, *The Constitution of the Monarchy in Israel*, HSM 25 (Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1981), 2.

78 Chae, *Jesus as the Eschatological Davidic Shepherd*, 156.

1.4 Justification and Plan of the Study

Considering the lack of thorough investigations into the use of 1–2 Samuel in Matthew, the aim of my work is to systematically explore all potential intertextual links between 1–2 Samuel and Matthew.⁷⁹ The methodological tools employed will be a mix of narrative criticism and intertextuality as I seek to elucidate Matthew's Jesus⁸⁰ through the text's "artful reminiscences of another text,"⁸¹ namely 1–2 Samuel. In the end, I will classify the potential intertexts and explain the degree to which 1–2 Samuel inform Matthew's story, particularly how they inform the portrayal of Jesus as a Davidic ruler who shepherds the people.⁸² As such, a vital aspect of this study lies in the specific intertextual engagement between 2 Sam 5:2 and Matt 2:6 and their coupling of shepherding and the term $\pi\alpha\sigma\kappa\alpha\lambda\epsilon\iota/\eta\gamma\omicron\upsilon\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$.

Chapter two will clarify the methodology of this study. A brief excursus on genre is appropriate since this study will use a narrative-critical and intertextual methodology. Chapter two will also explain various terminologies and establish how one determines what constitutes an intertext and what does not. Because a crucial intertext (Matt 2:6/2 Sam 5:2) contains imagery of David shepherding the people of Israel, chapter three will explain what it means for a ruler to be called a shepherd, both in a general ANE context, as well as in the context of the Jewish Scriptures. It will become apparent that justice and righteousness are hallmarks associated with the shepherd-ruler metaphor.

Chapter four explores this shepherd-ruler image in 1–2 Samuel and how it relates to the general themes of kingship within those texts. We shall particularly look at the meaning of $\pi\alpha\sigma\kappa\alpha\lambda\epsilon\iota/\eta\gamma\omicron\upsilon\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$ ⁸³ in 1–2 Samuel since that term is specifically tied to the act of shepherding the people (2 Sam 5:2). Finally, I will evaluate whether David as a shepherd-ruler is able to live up to the expectations of the king to procure justice and righteousness.

79 All potential "text-based," or "production-oriented," intertexts. For further elaboration and clarification of terms see methodology section 2.3–2.3.3.

80 The notion of "Matthew's Jesus" is derived from Elizabeth Struthers Malbon, who argues "Mark's Jesus" is the "fuller characterization of Jesus ... painted by the implied author." For reference see Elizabeth Struthers Malbon, *Mark's Jesus: Characterization as Narrative Theology* (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2009), 19.

81 Richard B. Hays, *The Conversion of the Imagination: Paul as Interpreter of Israel's Scripture* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2005), 30.

82 The focus is thus primarily on Jesus' earthly ministry, rather than a future eschatological shepherding which others have already elucidated.

83 $\pi\alpha\sigma\kappa\alpha\lambda\epsilon\iota$ is fairly consistently translated as a form of $\eta\gamma\omicron\upsilon\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$ in the Greek of 1–2 Samuel when referring to David. $\pi\alpha\sigma\kappa\alpha\lambda\epsilon\iota/\eta\gamma\omicron\upsilon\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$ thus have a one-to-one equivalence in 1–2 Samuel. For further elaboration see section 4.3.

The fifth chapter surveys how 1–2 Samuel and the Davidic shepherd-ruler concept emerge in literature before and roughly contemporary with Matthew to establish a historical framework for the occurrences in Matthew. Chapter 6 systematically explores intertextual links between 1–2 Samuel and Matthew 1–4 with a particular focus on the shepherd-ruler image in Matt 2:6. In addition, we shall see the importance of 2 Sam 12:24 in Matt 1:6 and 1 Sam 24:18 in Matt 1:19 because they help lay the foundation for Matthew's emphasis on a better righteousness (Matt 5:20).

Chapter 7 systematically investigates the use of 1–2 Samuel in Matthew 5–20, where the occurrence of 1 Sam 15:22 in Matt 9:13 elucidates Matthew's focus on mercy and 2 Sam 23:1–7 in Matt 17:2 is suggestive of a righteous luminous ruler who initiates the eschatological resurrection. Chapter 8 examines 1–2 Samuel in Matthew 21–28, where an ironic evocation of 2 Sam 15:30/16:1–2 in Matt 21:1–5, and 2 Sam 22:1–20 in Matt 27:41–51, offer an evaluation of the most neglected yet fruitful intertextual interplay in that section of Matthew. Chapter 8 will also focus on the narrative inclusio between Matt 2 and 27, which is partly generated by the words ἡγούμενος/ἡγεμών whereby the reader is faced with a juxtaposition between Jesus (Matt 2:6) and Pilate (Matt 27:11).

Chapter nine offers conclusions about the occurrences of 1–2 Samuel in Matthew and their effects on Matthew's story. The evocations of 1–2 Samuel in Matthew most often highlight themes of mercy, justice, and righteousness. These themes are crucial to the view of kingship in 1–2 Samuel and are evoked in Matthew to highlight Jesus as a merciful and righteous ruler who is greater than the David of old. I will conclude that the evidence suggests a revision of Willitts' and Baxter's definition of the shepherding רֹבֵץ/ἡγούμενος. After the conclusion, an appendix lists the most spurious and tangential intertexts. The intertextual methodology of this project renders several potential intertexts too weak to provide much substantial relevance in terms of explanatory power. The appendix thus serves as proof that my methodology can classify potential intertexts and place them on a spectrum that indicates their relative strength or weakness. Many of the appendix's potential intertexts are quite interesting (i.e. 1 Sam 17:40–51 in Matt 4:1–11), although they often amount to little more than general parallels between large and fragmented parts of 1–2 Samuel and Matthew and have little explanatory power or interpretive benefit.

The focus on Matthew's evocations of 1–2 Samuel highlights some overlooked aspects of Matthean Christology and show that justice and mercy are significant aspects of Matthew's Jesus as the Davidic shepherd. My method of narrative criticism and intertextuality indicates that Matthew's allusions to 1–2 Samuel are often layered and complex, coalescing with other texts from the Jewish Scriptures, ultimately giving the reader a better sense of Matthew's

Christology as well as insights into his portrayal of leadership and the nature and effect of the kingdom of the heavens.

1.5 Assumptions and Limitations

According to custom, it seems fitting to establish what this study assumes as well as some of the limits of the scope of the study. First, I assume Matthew is writing a story and that it is consequently appropriate to utilize the tools available in narrative/literary criticism.⁸⁴ In the employment of narrative/literary criticism, the terms “literary” and “narrative” seem to be utilized interchangeably⁸⁵ and refer to an approach to the Scriptures derived from how modern scholars approach literature.⁸⁶ Narrative criticism in New Testament studies works more broadly with all the qualities that make the texts literature,⁸⁷ and we shall consequently look at characters within the story, central themes, as well as the main plot and sub-plots within the narrative. The main plot of Matthew’s Gospel is assumed to be how Jesus is going to save his people from their sins (Matt 1:21; 16:21; 20:28).⁸⁸ I also assume one of the sub-plots is about Jesus heralding and inaugurating the kingdom of heaven by shepherding the people of YHWH according to his will.⁸⁹ In order to elucidate these literary qualities,

84 For references see R.A. Edwards, *Matthew’s Story of Jesus* (Philadelphia, PA: Fortress, 1985); Jack Dean Kingsbury, *Matthew as Story*, 2nd rev. and enlar. ed. (Philadelphia, PA: Fortress, 1988); Ulrich Luz, *The Theology of the Gospel of Matthew* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), xi.

85 James L. Resseguie, *Narrative Criticism of the New Testament: An Introduction* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2005), 17.

86 Mark Allan Powell, “Literary Approaches and the Gospel of Matthew,” in *Methods for Matthew*, ed. Mark Allan Powell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 46–47.

87 Resseguie, *Narrative Criticism*, 19.

88 Jack Dean Kingsbury, “The Plot of Matthew’s Story,” *Int* 46 (1992), 347; Mark Allan Powell, “The Plot and Subplots of Matthew’s Gospel,” *NTS* (1992): 199.

89 While Powell calls one of the sub-plots “Jesus against the religious leaders” I find that this sub-plot is fundamentally couched in kingdom language. Just as in Mark, the real opposition in Matthew is between God and Satan and those who oppose Jesus fundamentally oppose God’s heavenly kingdom. For reference see Malbon, *Mark’s Jesus*, 46–55. Jesus as their opponent is the one who inaugurates the kingdom of heaven and shepherds accordingly. The current leadership has failed to reflect the values of the kingdom of heaven and Jesus is coming to remedy that situation. In this way the kingdom sub-plot has its own narrative characteristics while also elucidating the main plot. For reference to Powell’s sub-plot of Jesus against the leaders see Powell, “The Plot and Subplots of Matthew’s Gospel,” 199–203.

I utilize some traditional narrative devices like intertextuality, typology, and metaphor.

It is not the purpose of this study to establish the authorship of Matthew's Gospel, and both author and narrator will simply be called "Matthew" for the purpose of simplicity, a choice which will be defended in the next chapter. In agreement with an emerging scholarly consensus, I assume the Gospel of Matthew is a thoroughly Jewish text.⁹⁰ I also assume Matthew knew and used both Hebrew and Greek versions of the Jewish Scriptures. Robert Gundry has demonstrated that while Mark remains fairly close to the LXX/OG in his quotations of the Jewish Scriptures, Matthew often deviates and betrays a knowledge of Hebrew and Aramaic traditions.⁹¹ Matthew's knowledge of the Hebrew and Aramaic Scriptures and their traditions will become pertinent when my work explores the intertextual links between Matt 12:8; 13:43; 17:1–8; 27:41–51 and the Jewish Scriptures.

The audience/auditors, both historically intended and implied, are likely people who are themselves Jews, as well as Gentiles who still have intimate

90 Anthony Saldarini, *Matthew's Christian-Jewish Community* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 4; D.C. Sim, *The Gospel of Matthew and Christian Judaism: The History and Social Setting of the Matthean Community* (Edinburgh, Scotland: T&T Clark, 1998), 26; John Nolland, *The Gospel of Matthew: A Commentary on the Greek Text*, NIGTC (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2005), 4–18; Craig A. Evans, "The Jewish Christian Gospel Tradition," in *Jewish Believers in Jesus: the Early Centuries*, eds. Oskar Skarsune and Reidar Hvalvik (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2007), 241–45; Isaac W. Oliver, *Torah Praxis after 70 CE: Reading Matthew and Luke-Acts as Jewish Texts*, WUNT 2.355 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013), 5–33, 39–41, 112–13, 145–46, 439–50; Akiva Cohen, *Matthew and the Mishnah: Redefining Identity and Ethos in the Shadow of the Second Temple's Destruction*, WUNT 2.418 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2016), 22–39, 211–22, 516–31; Anders Runesson, *Divine Wrath and Salvation in Matthew: The Narrative World of the First Gospel* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 2016), 7; John Kampen, *Matthew Within Sectarian Judaism*, AYBR (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2019), 5–11; Anders Runesson and Daniel Gurtner, eds. *Matthew Within Judaism: Israel and the Nations in the First Gospel*, SBLECL 27 (Atlanta: SBL, 2020); Jeremiah Coogan, "The Ways that Parted in the Library: The Gospel According to Matthew and According to the Hebrews in Late Ancient Heresiology," *JEH* (2022): 1–18.

91 While Matthew primarily used the Greek Scriptures, he probably also knew and used the Hebrew and Aramaic ones. For reference see Robert H. Gundry, *The Use of Old Testament in St. Matthew's Gospel: With Special Reference to the Messianic Hope*, NovTSup 18 (Leiden: Brill, 1967), 9, 16, 19, 23, 50–54, 83, 93, 113, 128, 133, 142, 147–50. For similar observations see also Krister Stendahl, *The School of St. Matthew, and its Use of the Old Testament* (Philadelphia, PA: Fortress, 1968), 166–67; Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 1:33; Nolland, *Matthew*, 29–33. Note that I am not claiming Matthew had access to Rahlfs' LXX or the MT, but he seems to have had access to Greek, Hebrew, and Aramaic texts and traditions that are somewhat close to them. See Piotrowski, *Matthew's New David*, 247–49. A likely example of Matthew's use of a Hebrew text is the quotation of Hosea 11:1 in Matt 2:15.

knowledge of the Judaism(s) of the time and a favored disposition towards its traditions.⁹² While we may assume Matthew's Jewish auditors had significant knowledge of the Jewish Scriptures,⁹³ the Gentile auditors' level of expertise requires further elaboration. I follow a string of Pauline scholars who argue for the substantial familiarity with the Jewish Scriptures amongst the original Gentile auditors of Paul's letters. For example, J. Ross Wagner argues against Christopher Stanley by positing that Paul's auditors in Rome were not illiterate and thus lacking in their ability to detect intertextual links to the Jewish Scriptures. Rather, Wagner suggests that the Gentile auditors of Rome had "a fairly good grasp of Israel's scriptures"⁹⁴ and that the parts they may have missed would be elucidated either via help from their Jewish fellow believers or by the sustained teaching of the letter which provides "a way of reading Israel's scriptures in the new light of the gospel."⁹⁵ The point is that Paul would not have embedded these intertextual linkages if he thought his auditors would not detect them. In similar fashion, B.J. Abasciano argues, based on the frequent distribution and copying of scriptural material in the first century, that Paul's audience would "(1) be sufficiently familiar with Scripture so as to benefit from his scriptural quotations and allusions, and (2) possess the ability to reflect on them further in their original contexts if they so chose."⁹⁶ Like Wagner, Abasciano assumes that Paul's letters were read, studied, and taught repeatedly by literate teachers who knew the Scriptures.⁹⁷ Most recently, B.J. Oropeza likewise argues for the scriptural competency of Paul's Gentile auditors in Corinth.⁹⁸

92 Considering the lack of conclusive evidence for either an exclusively Jewish or Gentile audience, I find it likely, based on the Gospel's attitude toward the law and positive outlook on Gentiles and mission, that Matthew's historical auditors are a *corpus mixtum* of Jewish and Gentile believers in Jesus the messiah. For reference see Paul Foster, *Community, Law and Mission in Matthew's Gospel* WUNT 2.177 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004), 253–60. I, however, do not think this makes Matthew's Gospel less Jewish, or his audience/auditors necessarily *extra-muros*.

93 Craig Keener, *The Gospel of Matthew: A Socio-Rhetorical Commentary* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2009), 45; Stendahl, *School of St. Matthew*, 1–35.

94 J. Ross Wagner, *Heralds of the Good News: Isaiah and Paul in Concert in the Letter to the Romans* (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 35.

95 *Ibid.*, 37.

96 B.J. Abasciano, "Diamonds in the Rough: A Reply to Christopher Stanley concerning the Reader Competency of Paul's Original Audiences," *NovT* 49 (2007): 161.

97 *Ibid.*, 166–73.

98 B.J. Oropeza, "1 Corinthians 10:1–22 in Light of the Corinthians' Knowledge of Scripture," in *Paul and Moses: The Exodus Traditions in the Letters of Paul*, ed. Florian Wilk, SERAPHIM 11 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2021), 121–38.

These arguments for Paul's Gentile auditors may reasonably be transferred to Matthew's Gentile auditors and lead to the assumption that the ideal reader is steeped in the Jewish Scriptures and able to discern allusions and quotations from said group of texts. As will be explicated further in the next chapter, it is assumed "ideal reader" is an appropriate category when utilizing narrative criticism and that an ideal reader is someone who is theoretically able to pick up on the variegated nuances, allusions, and other subtleties of a text.⁹⁹ As the study begins, we will look first at a few of the various tools and terms used in literary/narrative criticism,¹⁰⁰ specifically genre and intertextuality.

99 Umberto Eco, *The Role of the Reader: Explorations in the Semiotics of Texts* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1984), 7–10. For further elaboration see section 2.2 on methodology.

100 For the standard literary categories see M.H. Abrams and Geoffrey Galt Harpham, *A Glossary of Literary Terms*, 10th ed. (Boston: Wadsworth, 2011).

Methodology

2.1 Genre of Matthew

While it is beyond the scope of this project to thoroughly investigate the possible genres that might map unto Matthew, the genre question is still important to narrative critics because not all genres lend themselves to narrative criticism. The Gospels, for example, seem to lend themselves more readily to narrative criticism than other New Testament texts such as Titus or Jude. Scholars have long debated the genre of the Synoptic Gospels, but since Richard Burridge's seminal work on the matter¹ it seems many scholars prefer to label them as ancient Graeco-Roman biographies, or *bioi*.² However, it would be an overstatement to say there is an unshakable consensus on the matter, considering numerous voices are skeptical about Burridge's methodology³ and the finality

- 1 Richard Burridge, *What are the Gospels? A Comparison with Graeco-Roman Biography*, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2004). Now appearing in a third edition with Baylor University Press.
- 2 Wes Olmstead, "The Genre of the Gospels," in *The State of New Testament Studies: A Survey of Recent Research*, eds. Scot McKnight and Nijay Gupta (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2019), 103–119; Craig S. Keener, *Christobiography: Memory, History, and the Reliability of the Gospels* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2019), 66–67, 120, 221; Craig S. Keener, *The Gospel of Matthew: A Socio-Rhetorical Commentary* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2009), 15–24; PHEME PERKINS, *Introduction to the Synoptic Gospels* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2007), 2–11; James Dunn, "The Tradition," in *The Historical Jesus in Recent Research*, eds. James Dunn and Scot McKnight (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2005), 167–84; Graham Stanton, *A Gospel for a New People: Studies in Matthew* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox, 1993), 64–70.
- 3 Elizabeth Shively, "A Critique of Richard Burridge's Genre Theory: From a One-Dimensional to a Multi-Dimensional Approach to Gospel Genre(s)," in *Modern and Ancient Literary Criticism of the Gospels: Continuing the Debate on Gospel Genre(s)*, eds. Robert M. Calhoun, David P. Moessner and Tobias Nicklas, WUNT 451 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2020), 97–112; Werner H. Kelber likewise notes that Mark hardly fits a *bios* genre given the fact that it was later added to by Matthew and Luke. For reference see Werner H. Kelber, "On 'Mastering Genre,'" in *Modern and Ancient Literary Criticism of the Gospels: Continuing the Debate on Gospel Genre(s)*, eds. Robert M. Calhoun, David P. Moessner and Tobias Nicklas, WUNT 451 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2020), 76; Cilliers Breytenbach argues that one must seriously question the designation of the Gospels as *bioi* since there is no such clearly designed genre before Plutarch. For reference see Cilliers Breytenbach, "The Gospel according to Mark: The Yardstick for Comparing the Gospels with Ancient Texts," in *Modern and Ancient Literary Criticism of the Gospels: Continuing the Debate on Gospel Genre(s)*, eds. Robert M. Calhoun, David P. Moessner and Tobias Nicklas, WUNT 451 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2020), 199;

and certainty of his claims,⁴ arguing for a better fit with historiography, the Jewish Scriptures, or several other genres.⁵ Indeed, a substantial shortcoming in Burridge's work is the neglect of sustained comparisons with other kinds of literature.⁶

While Helen Bond has recently explored the implications of Burridge's thesis regarding Mark as a *bios*,⁷ several scholars have looked beyond *bios* literature in order to classify and understand Mark. Eve-Marie Becker argues Mark is a historiographical writing,⁸ and Lars Hartman says the literary style of Mark, its idiom, was inspired by the LXX/OG and thus meant to sound biblical rather than biographical, resulting in the audience associating the text with what later became known as the Old Testament.⁹ According to Hartman, "Mark was not read out as an informative or instructive story, perhaps with exemplary contents, at a gathering of, say, a philosophical school – which was a typical use of *bios*."¹⁰ Adela Yarbro Collins argues for a historiographical and apocalyptic mode or genre for Mark.¹¹ Elizabeth Shively does much the same, although focusing on the unique traits of Mark as a sub-genre of Graeco-Roman *bioi*.¹²

Andrew W. Pitts, *History, Biography, and the Genre of Luke-Acts: An Exploration of Literary Divergences in Greek Narrative Discourse*, BINS 177 (Leiden: Brill, 2020), 11–48.

- 4 Tomas Hägg, *The Art of Biography in Antiquity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 154–55; Mark Edwards, "Gospel and Genre: Some Reservations," in *The Limits of Ancient Biography*, eds. B.C. McGing and Judith Mossman (Swansea: Wales Classical Press, 2006), 50–62, esp. 61 n. 5.
- 5 For a brief list of the numerous proposals for the best literary comparisons to the Gospels see Michal Beth Dinkler, "What is a Genre: Contemporary Genre Theory and the Gospels," in *Modern and Ancient Literary Criticism of the Gospels: Continuing the Debate on Gospel Genre(s)*, eds. Robert M. Calhoun, David P. Moessner and Tobias Nicklas, WUNT 451 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2020), 77–78.
- 6 Adela Yarbro Collins, "Genre and the Gospels," review of *What are the Gospels? A Comparison with Graeco-Roman Biography*, by Richard Burridge, JR 75 (1995): 241–43; Pitts, *History, Biography, and the Genre of Luke-Acts*, 10; Edwards, "Gospel and Genre," 53, 61 n. 5.
- 7 Helen K. Bond, *The First Biography of Jesus: Genre and Meaning in Mark's Gospel* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2020), 15–37.
- 8 Eve-Marie Becker, *Das Markusevangelium im Rahmen antiker Historiographie*, WUNT 194 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006).
- 9 Lars Hartman, *Approaching New Testament Texts and Contexts: Collected Essays II*, eds. David Hellholm and Tord Fornberg, WUNT 2.311 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013), 118.
- 10 Ibid., 119.
- 11 Adela Yarbro Collins, *Mark: A Commentary*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 2007), 42–44; Adela Yarbro Collins, *The Beginnings of the Gospel: Probing of Mark in Context* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 1992; repr. Wipf and Stock 2001), 34.
- 12 Shively notes: "I find it preferable to think of Mark's genre in composite rather than unmixed or uniform terms: Mark is a subgenre of Greco-Roman biography, that is, a biblical-historical biography in an apocalyptic mode." For reference see Elizabeth Shively,

Briefly discussing Mark's generic features is important because it serves as a main source for Matthew, which can likewise be thought to have biographical, historiographical, and apocalyptic elements.¹³

John P. Meier argues the best literary genre is simply "gospel,"¹⁴ and Christoph Heil likewise argues the Gospels should have their own genre, giving four reasons why the Gospels are not fully comparable to Graeco-Roman literary genres:¹⁵

1. The Gospels have the words and deeds of Jesus as their central focus, not the person
2. The Gospels are distinguished, formally, by their loosely connected episodes
3. The Gospels deal with theological matters
4. The Gospels arise out of concrete ecclesiastical situations

Similarly, Jacques Cazeaux suggests Matthew is not an ancient biography. He argues Matthew portrays Jesus via prophetic fulfillments rather than in the regular shape of ancient *bioi*,¹⁶ suggesting Matthew constitutes something original by saying: "Le genre littéraire de l'évangile est unique."¹⁷ In his treatment of "Gospel" as a genre, Scot McKnight argues that Matt 24:14 and 26:13 may indicate that the author considered his story a Gospel.¹⁸ McKnight suggests "Gospel" means the complete salvific story of Jesus as the awaited messiah, not just the often condensed highlights of death, resurrection, and ascension.¹⁹ McKnight considers the Gospels to be *bioi*, although he regards the *bios* genre as somewhat secondary because the Gospel stories are meant to save, liberate, restore, and create in accordance with the pre-Pauline catholic Gospel

"Recognizing Penguins: Audience Expectation, Cognitive Genre Theory, and the Ending of Mark's Gospel," *CBQ* 80 (2018): 279 n. 24.

13 For examples of scholars highlighting the apocalyptic mode of much of Matthew see Pennington, *Heaven and Earth in the Gospel of Matthew*, 8, 92–94; Grant Macaskill, *Revealed Wisdom and Inaugurated Eschatology in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity*, JSJsup 115 (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 159–160, 195. Müller, *Matthäusevangeliet*, 48–49; Doron Mendels, "Historiography," *EDEJ* 746.

14 John P. Meier, "Gospel of Matthew," *ABD* 4:622–41.

15 Christoph Heil, "Evangelium als Gattung" in *Historiographie und Biographie im Neuen Testament und seiner Umwelt*, ed. Thomas Schmeller, StUNT 69 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2009), 92–93.

16 Cazeaux, *Matthieu*, 31–32.

17 *Ibid.*, 43.

18 Scot McKnight, "Matthew as 'Gospel,'" in *Jesus, Matthew's Gospel and Early Christianity*, eds. Daniel M. Gurtner, Joel Willits and Richard Burridge, LNTS 435 (London: T&T Clark, 2011), 62.

19 *Ibid.*, 65–67.

tradition.²⁰ McKnight thus argues that Matthew is ‘gospelling’ as ancient *bios* despite its obvious non-traditional *bios* qualities.²¹

N.T. Wright suggests Matthew is both *bios* and historiography.²² The suggestion that Matthew is historiographical, or that it participates in the genre of historiography, is well-received among Matthean scholars.²³ Indeed, Wright’s emphasis on mixed genres is not just part of a trend that suggests every text likely participates in several genres.²⁴ Rather, the notion of texts participating in several genres is as old as Aristotle’s comparison of epic and tragedy, and ancient writers have often worked with “mixtures of generic features.”²⁵ Burridge himself notes the *bios* genre is fluid and that the Gospels as *bioi* also exhibit other generic traits,²⁶ and Sean Adams has recently applied the notion of genre participation to Greek texts by Jewish authors from the third century BCE to the second century CE.²⁷

Given the likelihood that texts participate in several genres, perhaps the best indication that Matthew likely also participates in the genre of scriptural historiography is the first word of the incipit, βίβλος. This word is most often used to refer to entire books or papyrus rolls, or even complete works within the Jewish Scriptures such as the book of Isaiah (Luke 3:4) and the book of Psalms (Acts 1:20). In addition to these examples from the New Testament, Michael P. Theophilos has shown the word βίβλος in the papyri often refers to entire books of history, especially books written as sacred historiography as exemplified in the ancient works of Manetho the Egyptian and Diodorus

20 Ibid., 65–69.

21 Ibid., 74.

22 N.T. Wright, *The New Testament and the People of God* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 1992), 390.

23 Luz, *Matthew 1–7: A Continental Commentary* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 1992), 14; Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 1:3; R.T. France, *Gospel of Matthew*, NICNT (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2007), 29; Keener, *Gospel of Matthew*, 22–24; Samuel Byrskog, *Story as History – History as Story: The Gospel Tradition in the Context of Ancient Oral History* (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 256–66.

24 Jacques Derrida, “The law of Genre,” in *Glyph 7*, ed. Samuel Weber, JHTS (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980): 172–97; Cognitive Linguistics assumes that texts may participate in several genres to varying degrees. For reference see Michael Sinding, “The Mind’s Kind: Cognitive Rhetoric, Literary Genre, and Menippean Satire” (PhD diss., McMaster University, 2003), 9–35.

25 Ralph Cohen, “Do Postmodern Genres Exist?” in *Postmodern Genres*, ed. M. Perloff, Oklahoma Project for Discourse and Theory 5 (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1989), 12.

26 Burridge, *What are the Gospels?*, 56, 91, esp. 77.

27 Sean A. Adams, *Greek Genres and Jewish Authors: Negotiating Literary Culture in the Greco-Roman Era* (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2020), 9–16.

Siculus,²⁸ which enables him to conclude Matthew is best understood as presenting sacred history.²⁹ It thus seems the incipit is not merely the heading for Matt 1:1–17, but may suitably be seen as a guiding title for the Gospel as a whole.³⁰

This general usage of the word βίβλος fits well with Loveday Alexander's argument that the Jewish Scriptures offer a better genre fit because they contain "biographical story-cycles,"³¹ like those of Samson and Elijah, which encompass their entire lives from birth to death. Armin Baum likewise argues the Gospels are better aligned with biographies within the Jewish Scriptures than Graeco-Roman biographies.³² The main arguments highlight the shared anonymity of the authors in the LXX/OG and NT, their shared reluctance to comment on the origin or quality of the work, and similar opening sentences and general use of direct speech and dialogue.³³ While the similarity of opening sentences and use of direct speech remain valid features, one must seriously question the anonymity argument because most ancient Greek biographies and histories did not contain an authorial signature, meaning "the absence of the author's name in the work, is completely insignificant."³⁴ The NT writings may still look more like the Jewish Scriptures on a literary level, but the anonymity argument should be seriously revised.

From a narrative standpoint, the Jewish Scriptures also subordinate their biographical cycles to an over-arching narrative which tells of the religious promises and end goal of the Jewish people. Matthew seems to echo this

28 Michael P. Theophilos, "New Light from the Papyri: The Sacred Background of Βίβλος in Matthew 1:1," in *Scribes and Their Remains*, eds. Craig A. Evans and Jeremiah Johnston, LSTS 94 (London: T&T Clark, 2019), 217–23.

29 Ibid., 222.

30 Contra several scholars such as John Nolland, "What Kind of Genesis Do We Have in Matt 1:1?" *NTS* 42 (1996): 463–71; Hagner, *Matthew 1–13*, 5; McKnight, "Matthew as 'Gospel,'" 68; Graham Stanton, *Studies in Matthew and Early Christianity*, WUNT 309 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013), 90–91. In support, see Theodor Zahn, *Das Evangelium des Matthäus*, 4th ed., ZKNT 1 (Leipzig, 1922 repr. R. Brockhaus Verlag Wuppertal, 1984), 39–44; Pierre Bonnard, *L'Évangile Selon Saint Matthieu*, 2nd ed. (Neuchâtel: Delacheux and Niestlé, 1970), 16; Müller, *Matthäusevangeliet*, 75–6; Gerhard Maier, *Das Evangelium des Matthäus*, 2 vols., HTA (Witten/Giessen: Brockhaus/Brunnen Verlag, 2015), 1:50–51, 54.

31 Loveday Alexander, "What is a Gospel?," in *The Cambridge Companion to the Gospels*, ed. Stephen C. Barton (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 28.

32 Armin Baum, "Biographies of Jesus in Old Testament and Rabbinic Style: The Genre of the New Testament Gospels," in *The Earliest Perceptions of Jesus in Context: Essays in Honour of John Nolland on his 70th Birthday*, eds. Aaron W. White, Craig A. Evans and David Wenham, LNTS 566 (London: T&T Clark, 2018), 33–58.

33 Ibid., 49–50.

34 Simon Gathercole, "The Alleged Anonymity of the Canonical Gospels," *JTS* 69 (2018): 475.

trait,³⁵ and looking to the Jewish Scriptures for the origin of the Gospels' rich religious intensity and intertextuality is highly beneficial. We must also not forget that history and prophecy are not estranged categories and that 1–2 Samuel and 1–2 Kings are called former prophets in the Jewish canon. These texts relate historical events but are heavily charged with prophetic elements, another feature that seems to be lacking in Graeco-Roman *bioi*.

Matthew is thus biographical in so far as it tells the story about the life of Jesus, but more than an ancient Graeco-Roman *bios* because the story of Jesus is included in the story of Israel, and that story contains several elements, literary and otherwise, which are foreign to Graeco-Roman biographies. I, therefore, resist Burridge's notion that we simply label the Gospels biographies because doing so simplifies a complex problem and reduces the unique features of the individual Gospels. The ongoing discussion about genre justifies us in suitably looking beyond merely Graeco-Roman *bioi*, but not ignoring them, when trying to classify and understand the Gospels.³⁶ Matthew particularly lends itself to the two main approaches of this project, namely narrative criticism and intertextuality, because it participates in the sacred Old Testament historiographical tradition whereby Matthew extensively evokes multiple characters, stories, and motifs from the Jewish Scriptures in his own narrative.³⁷

35 John Nolland argues that Matthew most closely resembles the Old Testament biographical accounts which is fundamentally more about what YHWH is doing than the figure involved. As such these biographical stories have a larger narrative framework which is YHWH's interaction with his people. For reference see Nolland, *Matthew*, 19–20.

36 Larry Hurtado notes that the Gospels "... cannot be accounted for solely on the basis of features analogous to Greek and Roman bios Literature." For reference see Larry Hurtado, *Lord Jesus Christ: Devotion to Jesus in Earliest Christianity* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2003), 278. Jonathan Pennington likewise suggests that Burridge's study does not range "broadly or deeply enough." For reference see Jonathan Pennington, *Reading the Gospels Wisely: A Narrative and Theological Introduction* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2012), 25.

37 Molly Zahn notes that rewriting or reuse in Jewish texts is both an implicit and explicit engagement with earlier texts, and that this form/mode of writing emerges from "a network of intertextual relationships." For reference see Molly M. Zahn, *Genres of Rewriting in Second Temple Judaism: Scribal Composition and Transmission* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), 73.

2.2 Matthew as a Narrative

Narrative critics in biblical studies often follow Hans Frei and consider the Gospels realistic narratives.³⁸ Frei develops Erich Auerbach's notion that biblical narratives seek to overcome the reader's reality,³⁹ and that readers of biblical narratives are meant to fit themselves into the world of the text.⁴⁰ Frei urges biblical readers to let the text be the text,⁴¹ seemingly insinuating the text's historical veracity is secondary to the storied worldview the reader must accept in order to read the text as a realistic narrative. Such a narrative focus does not mean historical actuality is irrelevant, but it seems a secondary venture to a narrative critic in Frei's view.⁴² The text imposes a storied world onto the reader, which the reader must enter into and accept in order for the text to be what it is meant to be. Frei's methodology eliminates some of the perceived issues of rationalistic historiography and the historical accuracy of elements in the Gospel narratives, such as divine intervention, miracles, and what some historians might call mythical elements.⁴³ My work focuses on the narrative itself rather than its historiographical pedigree and historical accuracy. It thus follows a central component of Frei's narrative criticism, which is to engage the narrative without also having to engage with the myriad of questions posed by the historical-critical method.⁴⁴ My primary questions are thus; "how does the story mean?"⁴⁵ and "how does the Gospel ... characterize Jesus?"⁴⁶ However, while this study is not based on the historical-critical method, I still believe a proper narrative methodology must place the text within its larger historical and socio-cultural context in order to gauge whether a proposed

38 Hans W. Frei, *The Eclipse of Biblical Narrative: A Study in Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century Hermeneutics* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1974), 1–16, 272–81.

39 Erich Auerbach, *Mimesis: The Representation of Reality in Western Literature*, trans. Willard R. Trask, 50th anniv. ed. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2003), 15.

40 Frei, *The Eclipse of Biblical Narrative*, 3.

41 Ibid., 280–81.

42 David Lee, *Luke's Stories of Jesus: Theological Reading of Gospel Narrative and the Legacy of Hans Frei*, JSNTSup 185 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999), 46–52.

43 Ibid., 52.

44 Ibid., 52.

45 Elizabeth Struthers Malbon, "Narrative Criticism: How Does the Story Mean?" in *Mark and Method: New Approaches in Biblical Studies*, eds. Janice Capel Anderson and Stephen D. Moore (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 1992), 23–49.

46 Malbon, *Mark's Jesus*, 13.

reading would make sense to the author and the audience.⁴⁷ The story and its symbols and metaphors mean something within a specific historical context and narrative criticism relies on a supplementary and vital use of historical investigations to uncover these.⁴⁸ I will elaborate on this when dealing with my intertextual methodology.

In order to explore how the story means, narrative criticism utilizes tools such as characters, rhetoric, irony, style, syntax, humor, plot, imagery, setting, tone, and so on.⁴⁹ In literary analysis, one identifies and differentiates between the real (historical) author, the implied author, and the real reader and the implied reader.⁵⁰ However, the notion of an implied author is contested amongst narrative critics.⁵¹ This study assumes the real author is the implied author, or very close to it, even though the identity of the real author of Matthew's Gospel has not been identified.⁵² The real author is a historical person who wrote the story, and the implied author is the "literary version ... second self ... which the reader comes to know through the process of reading."⁵³ "Matthew" is thus the name used to refer to the implied author of the Gospel mainly because it is the most convenient and acknowledges tradition.⁵⁴ The debates about possible historical authors are ongoing and important, yet only minimally influence this study because it is more concerned with the implied author (since the real one remains unknown). The implied author is derived from the text itself⁵⁵ and can also be called "text implication," "text design," or "text intent."⁵⁶ The implied author, Matthew, is thus a textual construct used to

47 Jeannine K. Brown, *The Gospels as Stories* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2020), 16–18, 156–57.

48 For further insights into the complimentary relationship between narrative criticism and historical approaches see Mark Allan Powell, *What is Narrative Criticism?* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 1990), 10, 74, 82–83, 95–98. The point is that narrative criticism uses historical investigations to better understand the narrative, not to reconstruct historical events.

49 Brown, *The Gospels as Stories*, 10–14; Resseguie, *Narrative Criticism*, 19.

50 Seymour Chatman, *Story and Discourse: Narrative Structure in Fiction and Film* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1978), 26.

51 Tom Kindt and Hans-Harald Müller, *The Implied Author: Concept and Controversy*, trans. Alastair Matthew, *Narratologia – Contributions to Narrative Theory/Beiträge zur Erzähltheorie* 9 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2006), 1–14.

52 Nolland, *Matthew*, 4.

53 Kingsbury, *Matthew as Story*, 31.

54 No claim of authorship is being made in this work.

55 Brown, *The Gospels as Stories*, 14.

56 Seymour Chatman, *Coming to Terms: The Rhetoric of Narrative in Fiction and Films* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1990), 86. For other narrative critics who prefer to view the concept of the implied author as the overall meaning of a text see Mieke Bal, "The Laughing Mice: Or: On Focalization," *Poetics Today* 2 (1981): 202–10. Bal specifically notes

help interpret the text. This kind of understanding of the implied author dovetails with insights from cognitive science, which says if one has discovered the meaning of the text, then one has essentially found what some literary critics call authorial intent.⁵⁷

In terms of readers, it seems reasonable to agree with Lidija Novakovic that the implied reader comes very close to being identical to the real reader (the actual recipients of Matthew's Gospel).⁵⁸ However, the concept of an implied reader, derived from Wolfgang Iser, is not meant "to be identified with any real reader."⁵⁹ While Iser and others use the term "implied reader," this study will more often use the term ideal/model reader, derived from Umberto Eco, who notes the text itself produces a model/ideal reader who can make conjectures about it and in return attempt to construct the model/ideal/implied author who "coincides with the intention of the text."⁶⁰ The ideal/model reader, which is almost identical to the implied reader, is thus another interpretive construct used to make sense of a text because the message must make sense to the supposed ideal reader to "exercise its effects."⁶¹ Both the implied reader and ideal reader are terms narrative critics use for the imagined person who understands what the text ideally calls for in terms of interpretation,⁶² including a "high level of intertextual competence."⁶³ My work will emphasize the role of the ideal reader as a means of interpretive sense-making, although this focus does not mean the implied author would disagree. In fact, the ideal/implied reader is in effect a "reconceptualized"⁶⁴ implied author who still relies on the text itself.

Just as narrative criticism designates an implied author and reader, it can also assign a narrator, or storyteller, who the implied author constructs to

that the reader finds certain moral and values in a story via interpretation but that the tendency is for the reader to want to "ascribe them to someone, who can be held responsible for them." See Bal, "The Laughing Mice," 209.

57 David Herman, *Storytelling and the Sciences of Mind* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2013), 24–25, 68–71.

58 Novakovic, *Messiah, the Healer of the Sick*, 9.

59 Wolfgang Iser, *The Act of Reading: A Theory of Aesthetic Response* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978), 34.

60 Umberto Eco, *The Limits of Interpretation: Advances in Semiotics* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1994), 59.

61 Iser, *The Act of Reading*, 34.

62 Kingsbury, *Matthew as Story*, 38.

63 Wolf Smid, "Implied Reader," in *Handbook of Narratology*, 2nd ed., 2 vols., eds. Peter Hühn et al. (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2014), 1:302.

64 Kindt and Müller, *The Implied Author*, 136.

recount the narrative from a certain point of view.⁶⁵ In Matthew, one encounters a rather reliable, seemingly omniscient, third-person narrator⁶⁶ similar to the implied author.⁶⁷ Since the implied author and narrator agree on the story and how to tell it, they do not need to be distinguished. Also, it is assumed the author (both real and implied) was thoroughly familiar with the Jewish Scriptures, which is essential to the subsequent notion of intertextuality. The main focus of this project is to explore Matthew's intertextual links to 1–2 Samuel and how they might help the ideal reader understand the story. The ideal reader necessarily would not have perceived all possible intertextual possibilities upon her first reading or hearing. However, the ideal reader did not just read/hear Matthew once. Instead, I follow Dale C. Allison, who suggests the ideal readers are "those who (1) were familiar with the LXX and (2) heard and reheard Matthew. (I assume that our gospel was composed for repeated use in an oral setting which also featured scriptural readings from the LXX)."⁶⁸

This study will also pay close attention to the narrative concept of beginnings. All texts have a beginning that sets up the characters and plot of the narrative and foregrounds various motifs that will likely be confirmed or subverted throughout the narrative. Beginnings set up a relationship between the reader and the text and generate expectations regarding intertextuality and intratextuality within a text.⁶⁹ Beginnings thus play a foundational role within narrative criticism,⁷⁰ as do endings. I will closely examine Matthew's beginning and how it frames its characters, plots, themes, and intertexts. Matthew's opening, with its emphasis on David (Matt 1:1) and an intertextual link to Bathsheba (Matt 1:6), consequently generates expectations within an ideal

65 Wayne Booth, *The Rhetoric of Fiction*, 2nd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983), 70–76.

66 Bernard Brandon Scott, "The Birth of the Reader," *Semeia* 52 (1990): 84.

67 Kingsbury, *Matthew as Story*, 31; Herman C. Waetjen, *Matthew's Theology of Fulfillment, its Universality and its Ethnicity: God's New Israel as the Pioneer of God's New Humanity* (London: T&T Clark, 2017), 31.

68 Dale C. Allison, "Anticipating the Passion: The Literary Reach of Matthew 26:47–27:56," *CBQ* 56 (1994): 703. When dealing with the concept of ideal readers and their proposed knowledge, socio-historical information is vital to properly understand the ideal reader in relation to the text and is thus embraced in narrative criticism. For reference see Brown, *The Gospels as Stories*, 16–18.

69 Elizabeth Struthers Malbon, "Ending at the Beginning: A Response," *Semeia* 52 (1990): 177.

70 Brian Richardson, "Introduction: Narrative Beginnings," in *Narrative Beginnings: Theories and Practices*, ed. Brian Richardson (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2008), 1; Morna Hooker, *Beginnings: Keys that Open the Gospels* (Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press International, 1997), 1–42; Dennis E. Smith, "Narrative Beginnings in Ancient Literature and Theory," *Semeia* 52 (1990): 1–9.

reader that one may encounter further intertexts to 1–2 Samuel as well as more typological links to David.

Narrative criticism is not new within New Testament studies⁷¹ nor regarding the Gospel of Matthew.⁷² One can apply narrative criticism almost regardless of literary sophistication, especially if a text tells a story. And the Gospels do tell a story. It is irrelevant whether they do it in a poor Greek style or a slightly more educated mode.⁷³ One should remember that literary tools can be employed by all kinds of authors regardless of linguistic and literary sophistication. Most readers of Matthew view him as an author who arranges his material in a certain way, operating with a “clear sense of dramatic progression,” which helps the reader follow the unfolding of a plot.⁷⁴ One of the main reasons narrative criticism remains a valid and persuasive approach is because people think about themselves and the world in terms of narratives.⁷⁵ Agreeing with Christoph Heilig, we note that human thinking “fundamental narrativ strukturiert ist.”⁷⁶

- 71 Kelly R. Iverson and Christopher W. Skinner, eds. *Mark as Story: Retrospect and Prospect* (Atlanta: SBL, 2011); David Rhoads, Joanna Dewey and Donald Michie, *Mark as Story: An Introduction to the Narrative of a Gospel*, 2nd ed. (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 1999); Gail R. O'Day, *Revelation in the Fourth Gospel: Narrative Mode and Theological Claim* (Philadelphia, PA: Fortress, 1986); Elizabeth Struthers Malbon, *The Narrative and Mythic Meaning in Mark* (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1986); Willard M. Swartley, *Israel's Scripture Traditions and the Synoptic Gospels: Story shaping Story* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1993).
- 72 Kingsbury, *Matthew as Story*; Janice Capel Anderson, *Matthew's Narrative Web: Over, and Over, and Over Again* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994); Warren Carter, “Kernels and Narrative Blocks: The Structure of Matthew's Gospel,” *CBQ* 54 (1992): 463–81; Frank J. Matera, “The Plot of Matthew's Gospel,” *CBQ* 49 (1987): 233–53; Mark Allan Powell, “The Plot and Subplots of Matthew's Gospel,” *NTS* 38 (1992): 187–204.
- 73 Karl Ludwig Schmidt considers the Gospels *Kleinliteratur* rather than *Hochliteratur*, which means they are not literarily as sophisticated as other contemporary texts since their formation is mainly a product of a shared tradition, whereas *Hochliteratur* is the creative product of an author. See Karl Ludwig Schmidt, *The Place of the Gospels in the General History of Literature*, trans. Byron R. McCane (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 2002), 3–11. Helmut Koester does not think the Gospels possess literary language, but rather that they exhibit an uneducated common vernacular which precludes them from being literary masterpieces. See Helmut Koester, *History, Religion, and Literature of the Hellenistic Age*, 2nd ed. (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2012), 110–11. In contrast, R.T. France says “Matthew is in contention with some of the world's greatest novelists and dramatists,” see France, *Matthew: Evangelist and Teacher*, 135.
- 74 France, *Matthew: Evangelist and Teacher*, 138.
- 75 Richard Heersmink, “The Narrative Self, Distributed Memory, and Evocative Objects,” *PhilStud* 175 (2018): 1829–1849; Tim Henning, *Person sein und Geschichten erzählen: Eine Studie über personale Autonomie und narrative Gründe*, QSP 90 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2009), 1–6.
- 76 Christoph Heilig, *Paulus als Erzähler? Eine narratologische Perspektive auf die Paulusbriefe*, BZNW 237 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2020), 883.

Storied thinking may even be why literature often takes a narrative shape. Indeed, texts seem to generate a sense of identity in their readers,⁷⁷ and many ancient Jewish texts are shaped as narratives. N.T. Wright argues worldviews are rooted in stories and notes that a worldview is a lens through which people look to understand themselves in relation to the world.⁷⁸ Thus, ancient Jewish worldviews are mainly narrational, and their Scriptures are principally formed as narratives because the authors think narratively.⁷⁹

One should not be surprised ancient Jews understood themselves in light of narratives. One may even propose that humankind has always understood itself via cultural, social, and religious narratives⁸⁰ and that it is so even today.⁸¹ Indeed, “the tendency to tell stories seems to appear in all cultures.”⁸² Jerome Bruner postulates humans understand reality in terms of two spheres: nature and human affairs. The first sphere is structured in the mode of logic and science, whereas the mode of the latter is story and narrative, which deal with the “drama of human intentions and their vicissitudes.”⁸³ Bruner further notes the narrative constructions that shape our understanding of reality cannot be falsified and can only achieve a level of verisimilitude, scientifically speaking.⁸⁴ Bruner shows that narrative comprehension is one of the first things a young mind uses to create a worldview or to organize their experience of reality.⁸⁵ Some stories become so foundational and routinized that it takes very little foreign matter in a narrative in order for people to become suspicious or

77 Marianne Grohmann, “Vorwort” in *Identität und Schrift: Fortschreibungsprozesse als Mittel religiöser Identitätsbildung*, ed. Marianne Grohmann, BTS 169 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2017), v.

78 N.T. Wright, *Paul and the Faithfulness of God*, 2 vols. (London: SPCK, 2013), 1:28.

79 Wright, *The New Testament and the People of God*, 243; Paul Ricœur, “Naming God,” *USQR* 4 (1979): 220; James Fodor, *Christian Hermeneutics: Paul Ricœur and the Refiguring of Theology* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 228.

80 Alasdair MacIntyre, *After Virtue: A Study in Moral Theory*, 3rd ed. (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2007), 216; Birgitte Norlyk, “Corporate Storytelling,” in *The Living Handbook of Narratology*, eds. Peter Hühn, Jan Christoph Meister, John Pier and Wolf Schmid (Hamburg: Hamburg University) URL = <http://www.lhn.uni-hamburg.de/article/corporate-storytelling>.

81 Dan P. McAdams, *The Redemptive Self: Stories Americans Live by*, rev. and enl. ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013); Paul Ricœur, *Time and Narrative*, trans. Kathleen McLaughlin and David Pellauer, 2 vols. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984), 1:91–94, 1:121–174.

82 McAdams, *The Redemptive Self*, 57.

83 Jerome Bruner, *Actual Minds, Possible Worlds* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1986), 88.

84 Jerome Bruner, “The Narrative Construction of Reality,” *CI* 18 (1991): 4.

85 *Ibid.*, 9.

hermeneutically aware of the validity of a given narrative.⁸⁶ So, if Matthew tells a story, perhaps a foundational or worldview-shaping story, then one may expect this story to draw on previous narratives and texts as well as other ancient motifs. This necessitates an explanation of how I will employ the concepts of intertextuality and typology.

2.3 Intertextuality

It is assumed that almost every text, whether intentionally or unintentionally, contains borrowed elements.⁸⁷ This notion originated with Julia Kristeva, who promulgated a new literary approach dubbed “intertextuality,”⁸⁸ which she credited to Russian philosopher and literary critic Mikhail Bakhtin.⁸⁹ Kristeva and several other literary theorists use this notion of intertextuality to argue any text is the absorption and transformation of another text. This conviction means to overthrow conventional interpretive frameworks and devoid texts of ultimate meaning and interpretation.⁹⁰ Such literary critics discard the notion that language can establish truth and undermine the concept of authorial/textual intent.⁹¹

However, Kristeva’s notion of intertextuality is not an interpretive method, a way of analyzing a written text, but rather a way of describing the nature of all texts.⁹² Kristeva’s notion of intertextuality is “a cultural and phenomenological category.”⁹³ And, as we will discover, the concept of intertextuality is amendable and has ironically been modified from Kristeva’s original conception to such a degree that she changed her wording and preferred to use the term “*transposition*.”⁹⁴ This evolution of the term means intertextuality caught

86 Ibid., 9–10.

87 Richard Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Gospels* (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2016), 10.

88 Julia Kristeva, *Semeiotike: Recherches pour une sémanalyse* (Paris: Seuil, 1978), 53–194.

89 Kristeva, *Semeiotike*, 85.

90 Thomas R. Hatina, “Intertextuality and Historical Criticism in New Testament Studies: Is there a Relationship?” *BibInt* 7 (1999): 30–32.

91 Kristeva, *Semeiotike*, 6, 88–89.

92 Leroy Huizenga, *New Isaac: Tradition and Intertextuality in the Gospel of Matthew*, NovTSup 131 (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 49.

93 William A. Tooman, *Gog of Magog Reuse of Scripture and Compositional Technique in Ezekiel 38–39*, FAT 2.52 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011), 12.

94 Kristeva came to view the term intertextuality to refer merely to an investigation of sources, saying intertextuality had become “le sens banal de «critique des sources» d’un texte, nous lui préférons celui de *transposition*, qui a l’avantage de préciser que le

on amongst biblical scholars in a modified form where language and authorial/textual intent are not deconstructed.⁹⁵ Within New Testament studies, this modified form of intertextuality has developed into a sub-discipline that primarily investigates the use of the Jewish Scriptures in the New Testament via direct quotes and more subtle allusions.⁹⁶ The value of intertextual inquiry in the biblical texts is pertinent because, as W.J.C. Weren summarized, "... the Bible itself is a seedbed in which texts emerge from other texts."⁹⁷ Rather than abandon the term "intertextuality," which has become central to NT studies and which pays homage to its inception and remains intelligible to other academic disciplines, I follow the advice of B.J. Oropeza who says it is essential "for scholars who use the term to be diligent about explaining what they mean by it and how they plan to use it in their study."⁹⁸ In terms of definitions, I primarily refer to the connection between texts as intertextuality. However, I will occasionally use terms such as allusion and echo to avoid verbatim repetition and refer accurately to my interlocutors. I consider these terms synonymous, referring simply to a link between texts. As my methodology will clarify, cumulative evidence will determine the relative strength of an intertextual connection (allusion/echo) and whether it is explicit or implied, regardless of its label.

passage d'un système signifiant à un autre exige une nouvelle articulation du théorique – de la positionnalité énonciative et dénotative." For reference see Julia Kristeva, *La révolution du langage poétique: l'avant-garde à la fin du XIX siècle: Lautréamont et Mallarmé* (Paris: Seuil, 1974), 60.

- 95 From a narrative standpoint one may even suggest that the author's intent simply is the meaning of the text. No distinction thus exists between the authorial intent and the meaning of the text. If you have the meaning of the text, you possess the author's intent. For reference see Herman, *Storytelling and the Sciences of Mind*, 24–25.
- 96 Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul*, 29–31; Gary Manning Jr., *Echoes of a Prophet: The Use of Ezekiel in the Gospel of John and in Literature of the Second Temple Period*, LNTS 270 (London: T&T Clark, 2004); D.A. Carson and G.K. Beale, eds., *Commentary on the New Testament use of the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2007); Richard Hays, Stefan Alkier and Leroy Huizenga, eds., *Reading the Bible Intertextually* (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2009); Craig A. Evans and Daniel H. Zacharias, eds., *Early Christian Literature and Intertextuality: Thematic Studies*, LNTS 391/SSEJC 14 (London: T&T Clark, 2009); and Craig A. Evans and Daniel H. Zacharias, eds., *Early Christian Literature and Intertextuality: Exegetical Studies*, LNTS 392/SSEJC 15 (London: T&T Clark, 2009).
- 97 W.J.C. Weren, *Studies in Matthew's Gospel: Literary Design, Intertextuality, and Social Setting*, BINS 130 (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 301.
- 98 B.J. Oropeza, "Ancient Midrash in the Age of Intertextuality" in *New Studies in Textual Interplay*, eds. Craig A. Evans, B.J. Oropeza and Paul Sloan, LNTS 632 (London: T&T Clark, 2020), 15.

2.3.1 *Intertextuality in This Study*

Intertextuality is particularly important to the study of Matthew's Gospel since several of its literary constructions and phrases have a pre-Matthean history.⁹⁹ Much of Matthew's Gospel is consequently built upon established literary parts, which have the benefit of already being charged with meaning and associations.¹⁰⁰ Thus, intertextuality is at play when a text literarily connects with a pre-existing text that guides its reading and meaning.¹⁰¹ I shall use the kind of intertextuality that Dale Allison argues is a literary adaptation that the reader is encouraged to find and which consequently shapes the meaning of the text.¹⁰² Literary theorist Michael Riffaterre defines intertextuality as "a structured network of text-generated constraints on the reader's perceptions."¹⁰³

Although intertextuality is a broad concept that can be applied in numerous ways,¹⁰⁴ this study's notion of intertextuality, following Ulrich Luz, Dale Allison, and Richard Hays, is centered on a primary text's (A) perceived literary relationship to a pre-existing text (B).¹⁰⁵ This means intertextuality functions as "a tool for formulating the sense of a text in a more precise way."¹⁰⁶ Likewise, Stefan Alkier suggests the meaning of a text depends upon how it refers to other texts, saying meaning emerges "from the references of a given text to other texts."¹⁰⁷

99 Dale C. Allison Jr., *The New Moses: A Matthean Typology* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 1993), 6.

100 Ibid., 6.

101 Maria-Eirini Panagiotidou, "Intertextuality and Literary Reading: A Cognitive Poetic Approach" (PhD diss., University of Nottingham, 2011), 11.

102 Dale C. Allison Jr., *The Intertextual Jesus: Scripture in Q* (Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press International, 2000), ix.

103 Michael Riffaterre, "Intertextuality vs. Hypertextuality," *NLH* 25 (1994): 781.

104 For an overview and a call to explain what kind of intertextuality one uses see Steven Moyise, "Intertextuality and the Study of the Old Testament in the New Testament," in *The Old Testament in the New Testament: Essays in Honor of J.L. North*, ed. Steve Moyise, JSNTSup 189 (London: T&T Clark, 2000), 15–18.

105 Passages from Matthew are thus always (A), and segments from 1–2 Samuel always (B) unless the reader is prompted to look unto 1–2 Samuel via another text. In such a scenario, Matthew is (A), middle text (B), and 1–2 Samuel (C). The first instance occurs in Matt 9:13, where we can conceptualize Matt 9:13 as (A), Hos 6:6 is (B), and 1 Sam 15:22 is (C). See section 7.1.1–7.1.4 of this study.

106 Ulrich Luz, "Intertexts in the Gospel of Matthew," *HTR* 97 (2004): 121.

107 Stefan Alkier, "Intertextuality and the Semiotics of Biblical Texts," in *Reading the Bible Intertextually*, eds. Richard Hays, Stefan Alkier and Leroy Huizenga (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2009), 9. Alkier also calls this kind of intertextuality "production-oriented." For reference see Stefan Alkier, "From Text to Intertext: Intertextuality as a Paradigm for Reading Matthew," *HvTst* 61 (2005): 3–5.

Allison argues first-century Jewish authors are different from the roughly contemporary Greek authors, as exemplified by Melito of Sardis, who would explain the meaning of every type and antitype used in *Peri Pascha*.¹⁰⁸ Jewish authors, as exemplified by Matthew, assume their target audience has a deep knowledge of Jewish Scriptures and tradition and thus hide layers of meaning in the text. Therefore, the reader/hearer of a story is supposed to perform what is called “sub-reading.”¹⁰⁹ As illustrated by Matthew, a Jewish story is supposed to engage listeners and enable them to draw parallels and allusions to already-known narratives.¹¹⁰ Furthermore, Maarten J.J. Menken notes that if two texts are analogous, it is legitimate in ancient Jewish and Christian hermeneutics to combine them,¹¹¹ which we see in Matt 2:6, Matt 21:5, and elsewhere. I assume Matthew wrote his Gospel in a way that encouraged his readers to look for layers of meaning.¹¹²

This form of intertextuality is markedly different from what Kristeva promulgated, yet some scholars urge caution when using the term because it carries certain presuppositions. One such presupposition is the disinterest in textual origins and textual influence.¹¹³ Matthew could thus have intertextual links to postmodern text, current cultures, and so forth. However, this is not how most biblical scholars use the term. In fact, the term as used by most NT scholars, is perhaps more akin to Michael Fishbane’s “inner-biblical exegesis.”¹¹⁴ We may also note Kristeva does not hold a monopoly on the term among literary critics. For example, Gérard Genette narrows Kristeva’s definition of intertextuality and argues that intertextuality may be conceived as “quoting,” “literary borrowing,” or “allusion,”¹¹⁵ which in turn makes it more useable for biblical scholars. We must remember that “literary scholarship is

108 Allison, *The New Moses*, 92.

109 Ibid., 92.

110 For reference see C.H. Dodd, *According to the Scriptures: The Sub-Structure of New Testament Theology* (London: Nisbet and Co., LTD., 1952), 126–38.

111 Maarten J.J. Menken, “The Quotation from Zech 9,9 in Matt 21,5 and in Jn 12,15,” in *John and the Synoptics*, ed. Adelbert Denaux, BETL 101 (Leuven: Peeters, 1992), 571.

112 It seems to me that Matthew is not that different from Paul in his view and dependence on the Jewish Scriptures, and that one can easily apply Watson’s statement that “Pauline theology is thus intertextual theology” to Matthew’s theological narrative. See Francis Watson, *Paul and the Hermeneutics of Faith*, 2nd ed. (London: T&T Clark, 2016), 16.

113 Russel Meek, “Intertextuality, Inner-Biblical Exegesis, and Inner-Biblical Allusion: The Ethics of a Methodology,” *Bib* 95 (2014): 288.

114 Michael Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), 1–19.

115 Gérard Genette, *Palimpsests: Literature in the Second Degree*, trans. Channa Newman and Claude Dubinsky (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1997), 1–2.

hardly homogenous.”¹¹⁶ Furthermore, we should remember that the evolution of the term “intertextuality” amongst literary critics made Kristeva prefer the term “transposition.” Despite the different definitions of the term amongst literary critics, I will continue to use “intertextuality” in this study and define “intertextuality” as the concept by which one may establish a literary connection between a text (A) and a pre-existing text (B)¹¹⁷ beyond, but not excluding, obvious quotations.¹¹⁸ Formally, the kind of intertextuality used in this project is thus akin to that espoused in text linguistics by Robert-Alain de Beaugrande and Wolfgang Dressler.¹¹⁹

Allison, Luz, and Hays argue for numerous instances of this kind of text-linguistic, or text-based, intertextuality in Matthew’s Gospel.¹²⁰ This intertextual embeddedness leads to the conclusion that Matthew wrote his Gospel knowing his readers, familiar with the Jewish Scriptures, would pick up on the continuities between Matthew’s new narrative and the stories of the Jewish Scriptures. Here, the focus on the ideal reader and intertextuality becomes vital. Hays notes Matthew makes “bold narrative claims about Jesus” by linking his story to various texts in the Jewish Scriptures.¹²¹ Allison argues Matthew, via intertextuality, enables his readers to reach a typological conclusion: “this person (Jesus) is like that person because their two stories have so much in common.”¹²²

This notion of typology is corroborated by Riffaterre, who proposes a text is made up of a collection of images that is meant to ignite pre-existing knowledge in the reader/hearer.¹²³ Typology can thus be viewed as a subset of intertextuality and focuses on parallels between events or persons in the two testaments.¹²⁴ However, most intertextual links must present some

116 Michal Beth Dinkler, *Literary Theory and the New Testament*, AYBRL (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2019), 22.

117 This approach is similar to Moyise’s term “Intertextual Echo.” See Moyise, “Old Testament in the New Testament,” 17.

118 Seth Ehorn, “Intertextuality IV. Literature,” *EBR* 13:223–24.

119 They note intertextuality “concerns the factors which make the utilization of one text dependent upon knowledge of one or more previously encountered texts.” For reference see Robert-Alain de Beaugrande and Wolfgang Dressler, *Introduction to Text Linguistics* (London: Longman, 1981), 11, 182–208.

120 Allison, *The New Moses*, 284–85; Luz, “Intertexts,” 128–36; Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Gospels*, 105–90.

121 Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Gospels*, 105.

122 Allison, *The New Moses*, 7.

123 Michael Riffaterre, “The self-sufficient text,” *Diacritics* 3 (1973): 40.

124 Gerhard von Rad, *Old Testament Theology: The Theology of Israel’s Prophetic Traditions*, trans. D.M.G. Stalker, 2 vols. (New York: Harper and Row, 1965), 2:329; R.T. France, *Jesus in the Old Testament* (Vancouver: Regent College Publishing, 1998), 42.

lexical parallels, and I will distinguish between intertextuality and typology or parallelism primarily based on lexical analogies. Just because a character in Matthew's Gospels acts similarly to a character in Genesis does not mean one can establish an intertextual link, at least not an explicit one, as will be discussed shortly. General similarities can establish a typological link to a tradition about a previous character without necessarily generating a specific textual link to said character within another text.¹²⁵

The allusion to Moses and Sinai in Matt 5:1–2 could have been more overt, but intertextuality and typology are consistently implicit in ancient Jewish literature. Jesus' parables could easily all have come with neat explanations, but it would have "deprived the informed Jewish imagination of its native function."¹²⁶ That this type of implied intertextual reading was common for ancient Jews and early Christians is evidenced by Philippe Bobichon's work on Justin Martyr's *Dialogues with Trypho*. In chapter 35 of the *Dialogues*, Justin and Trypho discuss the nature and significance of theophanies in the Jewish Scriptures. The nature of the conversation is different from Justin's *Apology* wherein he is often more explicit in his treatment of the Scriptures because of his Gentile audience.¹²⁷ However, in chapter 36 of *Dialogues*, Justin and Trypho betray an intimate knowledge of the Scriptures and often convey implicit references to them. As Bobichon notes:

et on observe que l'ensemble des procédés exégétiques mis en oeuvre dans le Dialogue, même les plus implicites, sont reconnus et admis par Tryphon et ses compagnons.¹²⁸

These implicit references are part and parcel of the *Dialogues*, and they assume the audience is "familiarisé avec les Écritures et leurs méthodes implicites d'approche."¹²⁹ Justin Martyr keeps paraphrasing and using keywords when discussing the Jewish Scriptures which helps break a completely linear progression of his arguments and "en renvoyant à cette intertextualité qui est, dans

¹²⁵ Some scholars also call this kind of broad parallelism "narrative patters." For an overview see Brown, *The Gospels as Stories*, 114–16. In classical studies this kind of broad narrative parallelism is often called "narrative intertextuality." For reference see Bruno Currie, "The *Iliad*, the *Odyssey*, and Narratological Intertextuality," *SO* 93 (2019): 166–67.

¹²⁶ Allison, *The New Moses*, 93.

¹²⁷ Philippe Bobichon, *Justin Martyr: Dialogue Avec Tryphon – Édition Critique, Traduction, Commentaire*, Paradosis 47/1 (Fribourg: Academic Press, 2003), 146.

¹²⁸ Bobichon, *Dialogue Avec Tryphon*, 124.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, 158.

la pensée de Justin, l'unique approche conforme à l'esprit des Écritures."¹³⁰ Intertextual layering is also present in much of the Qumran literature, especially the *Hodayot*,¹³¹ and this kind of implied or layered intertextually is similar to what Allison suggests regarding Matthew as opposed to the *Peri Pascha*. What this means is one can expect Matthew's ideal reader to perceive intertextual layering, including potential intertexts to 1–2 Samuel.

Allison notes there are varying kinds of intertextual allusions and realizes that similar vocabulary, structure, and setting do not always demonstrate a deliberate intertextual allusion.¹³² Indeed, there are no hard and fast rules as to what constitutes intentional intertextual continuities.¹³³ Allison's solution to the conundrum is to use informed and careful judgment.¹³⁴ In the spirit of informed and careful judgment, this study seeks to identify intertexts in an orderly manner, which means a set of criteria is needed. One of the benefits of carefully evaluating potential intertexts based on a set of criteria is that I can move the weakest intertexts into an appendix and argue that their placement there is justified because they do not fulfill enough criteria.¹³⁵ The basis of these criteria starts by simplifying the often complex and highly revisable notion of intertextuality by borrowing elements from Rob Pope.

2.3.2 *This Study's Criteria for Establishing Intertexts to 1–2 Samuel*

Pope distinguishes between three types of intertextuality: explicit, implied, and inferred.¹³⁶ The last type, inferred intertextuality, will be ignored in this study as it dispenses with the historical question of whether the proposed intertext was available to the author and the intended audience. Pope argues explicit intertextuality refers to texts that are overtly referred to in another text. In the case of Matthew's Gospel, these would be the fulfillment of the prophet(s)

¹³⁰ Ibid., 126.

¹³¹ Carol Newsom, *The Self as Symbolic Space: Constructing Identity and Community at Qumran*, STDJ 52 (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 213–15; Julie A. Hughes, *Scriptural Allusions and Exegesis in the Hodayot*, STDJ 59 (Leiden: Brill, 2006).

¹³² Allison, *The New Moses*, 21.

¹³³ Beale and Carson, *New Testament use of the Old Testament*, xxiv–xxvi, 841–42; France, *Jesus and the Old Testament*, 15; Huizenga, *New Isaac*, 58.

¹³⁴ Allison, *The New Moses*, 21.

¹³⁵ Here I heed the advice of Jon Paulien and construct a methodology that allows for what he calls “uncertain allusions” or “nonallusions.” For reference see Jon Paulien, “Elusive Allusions: The Problematic Use of the Old Testament in Revelation,” *BR* 33 (1988): 47. My main criterion for weak allusions is tied to narrative/literary criticism and centers on the proposed allusions’ explanatory power.

¹³⁶ Rob Pope, *The English Studies Book: An Introduction to Language, Literature and Culture*, 2nd ed. (London: Routledge, 2002), 246.

passages. Implied intertextuality refers to more subtle links to other texts which an alert and informed reader would perceive.¹³⁷ In Matthew, a case of implied intertextuality may be the Sermon on the Mount where Jesus is alluded to as a new lawgiver in the line of Moses.

It should be stated that a case of explicit intertextuality is not necessarily more important or weighty than a case of implied intertextuality.¹³⁸ These categories do not determine importance, rather the categories simply state how the text indicates other texts are part of the storyline. As such, this study will define intertextuality as either explicit or implied, following Pope. To talk merely about two kinds of intertextuality seems simpler than using labels such as quotation, citation, influence, appropriation, allusion, echo, dialogical intertextuality, intertextual echo, etc.¹³⁹ However, the method used to detect explicit and implied intertexts cannot properly be established before considering the criteria listed by literary theorist Ziva Ben-Porat and New Testament scholars such as Dale Allison, Richard Hays, and Ulrich Luz.¹⁴⁰

Ben-Porat argues the first step in establishing a literary allusion (intertext) is identifying a marker in the target text (A), which refers to another independent and prior source, text (B).¹⁴¹ Once the marker is established, one progresses to the second step, which seeks to identify text (B) by the marker in text (A), which in turn leads to the third step, namely the modification of the primary text (A) by the evoked text (B) in terms of both lexical and interpretative modifications.¹⁴² Because of the different contexts, the primary text (A) often presents a “fuller interpretation” than the evoked text (B).¹⁴³ Ben-Porat argues if one reaches the third step, a literary link has been established between text (A) and (B). However, many texts contain the potential for a fourth step, which activates text (B) as a whole. This larger evocation is often “the particular aim for which the literary allusion is characteristically employed.”¹⁴⁴

Building upon this foundation, we can move on to Allison who proposes five steps for identifying intertextual links and starts by investigating a text’s

137 Ibid., 246.

138 Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in Paul*, 155.

139 We may also observe that some classicists do not see a distinction between the words “intertext” and “allusion.” For reference see Lowell Edmunds, *Intertextuality and the Reading of Roman Poetry* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001), 165–66.

140 For reference See Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in Paul*, 29–32; Allison, *Intertextual Jesus*, 10–13; Luz, “Intertext,” 130–31.

141 Such markers may be quotations, words, themes etc. See Ziva Ben-Porat, “The Poetics of Literary Allusion,” *PTL* 1 (1976): 110.

142 Ibid., 110.

143 Ibid., 111.

144 Ibid., 112.

history of interpretation. Allison argues a text's history of interpretation either "enhances or diminishes the plausibility of a proposed allusion,"¹⁴⁵ and it is thus reasonable to investigate an intertextual link if others have already seen a connection between the two texts. If a possible intertextual link lacks direct citations, or what Allison calls "undeniable tacit borrowing,"¹⁴⁶ his second step, much like Ben-Porat, attempts to identify a link by finding:

1. shared vocabulary
2. shared word order
3. shared theme or circumstance
4. shared literary structure or imagery

Allison's third step involves determining whether the above commonalities between texts are commonplace and thus not unique enough to warrant an intertextual connection. Allison uses the phrase "thus says the Lord" as an example of something altogether too commonplace to warrant an intertextual link.¹⁴⁷ The fourth step involves establishing whether a proposed text (B) is prominent in the textual tradition (A).¹⁴⁸ In this study, we would thus want to see how prominent 1–2 Samuel (B) are in the Matthean tradition (A) and how Matthew dialogues with them. Finally, Allison's last step involves determining whether a proposed intertext enhances one's understanding of the text in a manner commensurate to its known themes and plots.¹⁴⁹ Indeed, it is not enough to merely "hunt for sources and influences," one must show how a potential intertext functions within the text and if it contains any explanatory power.¹⁵⁰

Allison's approach is slightly different from that of Richard Hays, who begins his list of criteria not with a history of interpretation but rather with the question of availability. Hays' point of departure asks whether the supposed source of the intertextual link was available to the author and the original reader.¹⁵¹ Hays argues the Jewish Scriptures are known to Matthew based on the explicit quotes in his writing. It seems rather clear that 1–2 Samuel would be available to both the author of Matthew and his original readers.¹⁵² In Matthew 12:4,

¹⁴⁵ Allison, *Intertextual Jesus*, 10.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 11.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 11.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 12.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 13.

¹⁵⁰ Huizenga, *New Isaac*, 212.

¹⁵¹ Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Gospels*, 105–9.

¹⁵² Matthew quotes from 1–2 Samuel as do his predecessors at Qumran and his contemporary, Josephus. For reference see Ariel Friedman, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Rewriting Samuel and Kings: Text and Commentary*, BZAW 469 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2015) and Michael Avioz, *Josephus' Interpretation of the Books of Samuel*, LSTS 86 (London: T&T Clark, 2015).

we find an intertextual link to 1 Sam 21:4–6 which Matthew has inherited from the Gospel of Mark, or some other source, which indicates the availability of 1–2 Samuel was high and that it is plausible for Matthew to exhibit other intertextual connections to 1–2 Samuel.

Hays' second criterion is concerned with "volume," which is chiefly determined by the degree of explicit repetition of words and phrases or syntactic patterns. However, Hays argues the prominence of an intertext is crucial and that a few words may create substantial volume because of the prominence of the text being alluded to.¹⁵³ The story of David, as told in 1–2 Samuel, likely held a prominent place in the minds of the Jewish people, both before the time of Jesus, contemporaneously with Jesus, and subsequently.¹⁵⁴ Hays' notion of volume is thus similar to Allison's notion of prominence.

Hays' third criterion is that of recurrence: How often does text (A) quote the same prior source text (B), or allude to it?¹⁵⁵ Matthew does not seem to refer to the same text from 1–2 Samuel twice, but Matthew does seem to form numerous intertextual links to various parts of 1–2 Samuel. The fourth criterion is that of thematic coherence, which analyses how well the intertextual link from the prior source text (B) fits into text (A)'s argument and plot. The next criterion is related to historical plausibility and appears to have a lot in common with the criterion of availability. This criterion asks if it is historically plausible that the author would have intended the effect of the allusion and if his readers would have understood the allusion. Whatever potential intertextual link one finds, it must be able to produce historically satisfactory interpretations.¹⁵⁶

Hays then proceeds to the question of the history of interpretation, which appears to carry less weight than in Allison's model. Like Allison, Hays asks if the proposed intertextual link has been noted previously. Contrary to Allison, who highly values this criterion, Hays argues interpreters bring presuppositions to the text and that a lack in this area is not a criterion for exclusion because the presuppositions of our predecessors may have closed their eyes to certain intertextual possibilities.¹⁵⁷ Hays' last criterion, coherence, is similar to Allison's notion of enhancement and asks if the proposed intertextual reading

153 Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul*, 30.

154 Wright, *New Testament and the People of God*, 308–10. Even if we assume a very late date of final composition and redaction, as well as a late acceptance of 1–2 Samuel as authoritative writ, then 1–2 Samuel seem to have been considered authoritative and scriptural by the second-first centuries BCE. For reference see Anneli Aejmelaeus, "When did the Books of Samuel Become Scripture?" in *From Author to Copyist: Essays on the Composition, Redaction, and Transmission of the Hebrew Bible in Honor of Zippi Talshir*, ed. Cana Werman (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2015), 263–82.

155 Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul*, 30.

156 Brown, *The Gospels as Stories*, 16–18.

157 Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul*, 31.

makes sense and if it sheds light on other themes and discourses in the primary text (A).¹⁵⁸

Ulrich Luz argues two texts must share at least one of the following lexical properties: word order, syntax, theme, images, or structure.¹⁵⁹ Secondly, Luz also focuses on the history of interpretation, noting an intertext should “have a pedigree in the history of interpretation,”¹⁶⁰ which seems to be a compromise between Allison’s and Hays’ positions. Thirdly, the probability of an intertextual allusion is higher if the author has already used it or if the allusion is from a text (B) which is otherwise often alluded to in text (A). One might want to ask what Luz means by “often” and whether one could not be satisfied with merely finding one other substantial quote from the same book, poem, letter, etc. Finally, Luz argues for a criterion of coherence/satisfaction, much like Hays and Allison.¹⁶¹

Luz somewhat succeeds in simplifying and combining Allison and Hays’ criteria, yet I agree with Leroy Huizenga¹⁶² in that I cannot find better criteria than those espoused by Hays.¹⁶³ I believe Hays allows more room for intertextual possibilities than Allison and Luz, allowing for faint and unintended allusions, which he calls “echoes.” Allison and Luz wish to connect intertextual links more closely to authorial intent and the history of interpretation. While we must pay attention to the history of interpretation, we cannot dismiss an intertextual link simply because past readers never thought of it or cared to write it down or because the writing has been lost.

158 This is why narrative criticism and intertextuality pair well. One must first understand the narrative at hand, its own inherent logic, themes, and so on, before one can evaluate the criterion of coherence. I shall often refer to an intertext’s explanatory power in this regard. By doing so we are heeding not only Allison, Hays, and Luz, but also Huizenga who notes one must not simply hunt for sources but pay attention to the narrative logic. Alkier also asserts that one must first examine the text intratextually. I therefore examine the two proposed texts in their own literary contexts before trying to evaluate the strength of their intertextual interplay. For reference see Huizenga, *New Isaac*, 212; Stefan Alkier, “Intertextuality Based on Categorical Semiotics,” in *Exploring Intertextuality: Diverse Strategies for New Testament Interpretation of Texts*, eds. B.J. Oropeza and Steve Moyise (Eugene, OR: Cascade Books, 2016), 135.

159 Luz, “Intertexts,” 131.

160 Ibid., 131.

161 Ibid., 131.

162 Huizenga, *New Isaac*, 58.

163 The rumors of Hays’ lack of methodological rigor are exaggerated. See Huizenga, *New Isaac*, 43–45. While Hays does not elaborate on his methodology in *Echoes of Scripture in the Gospels* he has already laid out a methodology based on seven criteria in his first work on echoes in Paul’s writings which he has then subsequently developed and defended in Hays, *The Conversion of the Imagination*, 25–49.

One of the advantages of Hays' notion of intertextuality is his focus on metalepsis.¹⁶⁴ The literary term/concept of metalepsis is contested, but the kind of metalepsis Hays espouses can be termed "allusive metalepsis."¹⁶⁵ This understanding of metalepsis resonates with Ben-Porat's fourth step of evoking the prior text (B) as a whole. Hays' theory of metalepsis, following the school of Harold Bloom and John Hollander,¹⁶⁶ states the message of a given text can be grasped best by understanding the other text(s) to which it refers. Hays argues metalepsis forces the reader to take the original subtext seriously and that one needs to read said subtext fully to understand better the intertextual relationship between text (A) and text (B).¹⁶⁷ In the case of the New Testament, one reads the subtext from the Jewish Scriptures, text (B), in contextual detail to understand more fully the meaning of the New Testament text (A), which exhibits the scriptural allusion.¹⁶⁸

Leroy Huizenga notes Hays' methodology does not explore whether an intertextual link might refer to a certain interpretation of an Old Testament text rather than the Old Testament text itself.¹⁶⁹ This is an important nuance, and we must be vigilant in our interpretative framework, allowing for the intertextual link to refer to not only the plain meaning of the Old Testament text in

164 Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Gospels*, 11; John Hollander, *The Figure of Echo: A Mode of Allusion in Milton and After* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1981), 113–32. Metalepsis is a debated term/concept and can refer to different narratological and rhetorical devices and theories. However, we should note several literary critics consider certain kinds of metalepses akin to intertextuality or allusion, indicating that the two concepts are closely related, especially in the manner proposed by Hays. For reference see John Pier, "Metalepsis," paragraphs 14 and 23 in *The Living Handbook of Narratology*, eds. Peter Hühn, Jan Christoph Meister, John Pier and Wolf Schmid (Hamburg: Hamburg University) URL = <https://www.lhn.uni-hamburg.de/node/51.html#>.

165 Sebastian Matzner, "By Way of Introduction: Back to the Future? Problems and Potential of Metalepsis *avant* Genette," in *Metalepsis: Ancient Texts, New Perspectives*, eds. Sebastian Matzner and Gail Trimble (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020), 16–18.

166 For a concise overview of this kind of metalepsis concerned with allusion where readers move from one scene in one text to another scene in a previous text see Ruurd Nauta, "The Concept of 'Metalepsis': From Rhetoric to the Theory of Allusion and to Narratology," in *Über die Grenze Metalepse in Text- und Bildmedien des Altertums*, eds. Ute Eisen and Peter von Möllendorf, *Narratologia – Contributions to Narrative Theory* 39 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2013), 469–80.

167 Richard B. Hays, *Reading Backwards* (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2014), 42.

168 Jeannine K. Brown, "Metalepsis," in *Exploring Intertextuality: Diverse Strategies for New Testament Interpretation of Texts*, eds. B.J. Oropeza and Steve Moyise (Eugene, OR: Cascade Books, 2016), 29; Hays, *Reading Backwards*, 15–16. The full understanding of the subtext includes its own potential intertextual linkages. This study will at times refer to this as a "double allusion" or "window reference." The first instance occurs in Matt 9:13 (section 7.1.1–7.1.4 of this study).

169 Huizenga, *New Isaac*, 61.

its original context but also to how said text has been interpreted within the subsequent interpretive tradition.¹⁷⁰

We must, therefore, explore intertexts to both the Jewish Scriptures themselves as well as established interpretations of said Scriptures.¹⁷¹ Huizenga proposes we consider the known Jewish cultural encyclopedia, their Bibles, traditions, and interpretations as opposed to merely the LXX/OG.¹⁷² I will follow this approach and consider roughly contemporary interpretations of the Jewish Scriptures (MT and LXX/OG) as a tool to help us understand how Matthew and his audience may have understood a certain intertext. The Targum of Samuel will become an important dialogue partner when investigating certain intertexts and their traditions/interpretations.¹⁷³

In order to use Ben-Porat's, Allison's, Luz's and Hays' criteria to establish an intertextual link, and to determine whether an intertext is explicit or implied, I wish to propose a simple way forward. According to the figure below, I will employ a three-step process. The first step is to identify the markers in text (A) and (B), the second is to identify text (B), and the third is to actualize the intertextual relationship between (A) and (B).

1: Identify the marker(s) in A and B	This includes shared vocabulary, word order, themes, etc.
2: Identify text B	This includes the prominence and volume of text B, such as how often text B is otherwise alluded to in text A and other contemporary literature.
3: Actualization of evocation of text B in text A	This includes investigating the thematic and historical coherence of text B's influence on A, the significance of B's larger context, as well as considering the history of interpretation regarding text B's occurrence in A.

170 Ibid., 61.

171 Craig A. Evans, "Listening for Echoes of Interpreted Scripture," in *Paul and the Scriptures of Israel*, eds. Craig A. Evans and James Sanders (London: Bloomsbury Academic Press, 2015), 51.

172 Huizenga, *New Isaac*, 63.

173 Molly Zahn notes the Targums function largely as interpretations of the MT and are an expression of a rabbinic desire to uncover the true meaning of the text. For reference see Zahn, *Genres of Rewriting*, 158–64.

For an intertext to be considered explicit, it must have robust markers such as shared vocabulary, similar themes, or imagery. An intertext cannot be explicit if there is only a one-word marker, or if a character does something that is simply like what another character does in a different text. Matthew's fulfillment quotations are thus prime examples of explicit intertextuality. What this means, though, is that most of the intertexts in Matthew's Gospel will fall into the implied category.¹⁷⁴

This study will deal with explicit and implied intertextuality and allow for varying degrees of strength/volume. An explicit intertext usually fulfills all of Hays' criteria, and in order to qualify as a case of implied intertextuality a proposed intertext must satisfy at least Hays' criteria of availability and satisfaction as well as possess some kind of marker. In other words, the proposed allusion needs to have been available to the original author and his audience and it must render a historically, narratively, and thematically satisfying interpretation. As such, one should conceptualize intertexts as existing on a spectrum which on the far right satisfies all of Hays' criteria and thus constitutes a strong, explicit intertext. On the left side of the spectrum, one finds the implied intertexts, which on the far left might only satisfy a few of Hays' criteria, and some barely so. This allows for a recognition that intertextuality is broad and exists in different forms and in varying degrees of strength/volume (see Figure 1 on next page).

Alida C. Euler likewise suggests a spectrum of intertextuality, although she works with four categories. Her last category, not based on direct markers, is labeled "Kulturelle Enzyklopädie"¹⁷⁵ and assumes references to the Psalms in Matthew can occur unconsciously via motifs, images, etc., because the author is steeped in the Psalms.

This project wishes to move away from the kind of language that necessarily speaks of the author's intended allusions and echoes and rather seeks to investigate the occurrences of intertexts within Matthew and their implications on the narrative. It seems complicated to argue with certainty that an intertext,

¹⁷⁴ Citations and quotes still establish a relationship between two texts, and contrary to Ham's study I will not treat citations differently from allusions and echoes. To reduce confusing language, I consider citations, allusions, and echoes to be instances of intertextuality. Citations are certainly explicit intertexts, whereas other allusions might be implied intertexts. See Ham, *The Coming King*, 16–19.

¹⁷⁵ Alida C. Euler, "Kurze Texte mit großer Wirkung: Psalmen im Matthäusevangelium," *BK* 74 (2019): 145. A similar spectrum can be observed in classical studies where Bruno Currie demonstrates clear and explicit intertexts between the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* ("all gods" in *Od. I* vs. "all gods" in *Il. xxiv*) as well as more subtle connections which he calls "narratological intertextuality." For reference, see Currie, *The Iliad, the Odyssey, and Narratological Intertextuality*, 165–66, 170–71.

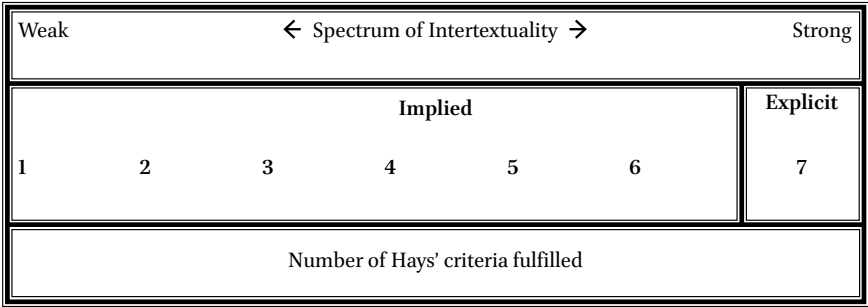


FIGURE 1

unless quite explicit, was the author's intent.¹⁷⁶ Morna Hooker notably says that Mark might not have consciously used Isaiah, that he may have simply regurgitated the tradition he inherited, and that his "debt to Isaiah may well be unconscious."¹⁷⁷ The reader may then understand the Gospel's indebtedness to an Old Testament text in ways the author did not.¹⁷⁸ As such, we cannot deny that finding and defending certain intertextual links is a matter of subjective interpretation rather than a straightforward task of checking off boxes.¹⁷⁹

Much of the intertextual enterprise hinges upon the reader, and an intertext seems valid if a reader detects it¹⁸⁰ *and* if the proposed intertext helps explain or elucidate the rest of the Gospel story (criterion of coherence). Engaging in intertextual investigations within the larger framework of narrative criticism is thus preferable. It is not enough to merely search for lexical and thematic parallels, for these parallels must help the reader see a greater nuance in Matthew or

176 It is of course fair to assume it is/was the author's intent, but one is essentially making an argument with insufficient evidence lest one views the meaning of the text as the equivalence of authorial intent. For references to the difficulties with establishing and verifying authorial intent see Ian Paul, "The Use of the Old Testament in Revelation 12," in *The Old Testament in the New Testament: Essays in Honor of J.L. North*, ed. Steve Moyise, JSNTSup 189 (London: T&T Clark, 2000), 259–61; Steve Moyise, "Intertextuality and Historical Approaches to the Use of Scripture in the New Testament," *VE* 26 (2005): 455.

177 Morna Hooker, "Isaiah in Mark's Gospel," in *Isaiah in the New Testament*, eds. Steve Moyise and Maarten J.J. Menken (London: T&T Clark, 2005), 47–49.

178 Hooker, "Isaiah in Mark's Gospel," 49.

179 For a helpful overview of the *status quaestionis* regarding intertextual methodology and its subjective dimensions see David Allen, "The Use of Criteria: The State of the Question," in *Methodology in the Use of the Old Testament in the New: Context and Criteria*, eds. David Allen and Steve Smith, LNTS 579 (London: T&T Clark, 2021), 129–141.

180 Beale entertains the idea that Paul may have unconsciously referred to the Old Testament in his letters. See Beale and Carson, *New Testament use of the Old Testament*, 842. Therefore, it makes better sense to focus on a potential intertext and its coherence with the text and its perceived aims and the (ideal) reader rather than authorial intent.

help move forward Matthew's main plot or one of the sub-plots. The proposed intertext must possess what I call explanatory power or have what others call "interpretive benefit."¹⁸¹

2.3.3 Conclusions

The use of intertextuality has faced criticism despite wide usage in biblical studies.¹⁸² Part of the reason for simplifying intertexts to either "explicit" or "implied" is partially in response to such criticisms.¹⁸³ Some of the criticism centers on the fact that the use of "intertextual" by New Testament scholars often merely means the same as previous, often poorly defined, expressions such as "echoes," "allusions," and "inner-biblical exegesis."¹⁸⁴ This study uses the term "intertextuality" to refer to the fact that texts generate meaning by their reference to other pre-existing texts. This referencing happens either explicitly or implicitly.

The fact of the matter is that previous texts are used and referenced in Matthew's Gospel, and the guild has termed this phenomenon "intertextuality" despite obvious differences from how some literary critics may employ the term outside of biblical studies. I find the term helpful as long as it is acknowledged that it is amended. Intertextuality has become a standard tool in narrative criticism and functions to help readers perceive the relationship between texts as well as to facilitate proper interpretation. Therefore, the task of this project is to explore the intertextuality between Matthew's Gospel and 1–2 Samuel,¹⁸⁵ particularly intertexts that might help elucidate Jesus as a Davidic shepherd-ruler.

181 Steve Smith, "The use of criteria: A proposal from Relevance Theory," in *Methodology in the Use of the Old Testament in the New: Context and Criteria*, eds. David Allen and Steve Smith, LNTS 579 (London: T&T Clark, 2021), 149.

182 Paul Foster, "Echoes Without Resonance: Critiquing Certain Aspects of Recent Scholarly Trends in the Study of the Jewish Scriptures in the New Testament," *JNT* 38 (2015): 96–111.

183 Stanley Porter has done a thorough job of critiquing the sometimes confusing terminologies and labels used in relation to intertextuality. For reference see Stanley E. Porter, *Sacred Tradition in the New Testament: Tracing Old Testament Themes in the Gospels and Epistles* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2016), 5–15; Stanley E. Porter, "The Use of the Old Testament in the New Testament," 79–96; Stanley E. Porter, "Further Comments on the Use of the Old Testament in the New Testament," in *The Intertextuality of the Epistles: explorations of theory and practice*, ed. Thomas L. Brodie, Dennis Ronald MacDonald, and Stanley E. Porter, NTM 16 (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2006), 98–110; Stanley E. Porter, "Allusions and Echoes," in *As it is Written: Studying Paul's Use of Scripture*, ed. Stanley E. Porter and Christopher D. Stanley (Atlanta, GA: SBL, 2008), 29–40.

184 Porter, *Sacred Tradition*, 12; Meek, "Intertextuality," 290–91.

185 I am doing this while also considering how 1–2 Samuel has been interpreted by other roughly contemporary texts such as the Dead Sea Scrolls and Josephus. See chapter 5 of this study.

2.4 Methodological Conclusions

A narrative and intertextual approach to Matthew is justified because of the genres in which Matthew participates, namely the biographical and historiographical genres rooted in an Old Testament/Scriptural mode. Also, one can view different parts of Matthew as participating in a certain literary or hermeneutical style, which helps mitigate against viewing all of Matthew as the same kind of writing. This does not negate a holistic approach to Matthew, it merely acknowledges the whole is made of diverse parts.

The emphasis on David in Matthew's first chapters becomes an interpretive key for the entire Gospel,¹⁸⁶ and we need to understand how this emphasis functions in the larger narrative as well as how 1–2 Samuel otherwise appear in Matthew. Thus, the present study aims to guide the reader's understanding of Matthew by the text's own intertextual links to 1–2 Samuel. But before we can get there, we must look at how the kind of shepherd language evoked in Matt 2:6 functioned in its ancient original context.

¹⁸⁶ Hooker, *Beginnings*, 23–32; Piotrowski, *Matthew's New David*, xiv.

Shepherd-Ruler Imagery in the Ancient Near East and the Jewish Scriptures

3.1 Introduction

Before asking how potential intertexts work between 1–2 Samuel and Matthew, especially regarding Davidic shepherd-ruler imagery, we must first try to understand the ancient Near Eastern cultural encyclopedias relating to the terms “king/ruler” and “shepherd.” It is important to understand that these terms have a long history and that the royal title “shepherd” is one of the oldest in the ancient Near East.¹ Consequently, the “metaphor of shepherd for ruler” is commonplace in the ancient Near East and the Jewish Scriptures.² Because a comprehensive study of shepherd imagery is beyond the scope of this study, I will highlight a selection of texts that speak to the characteristics of a ruler who is mentioned as a shepherd. We begin the overview of shepherd-ruler imagery in ancient Egypt.³

3.2 Shepherds and Rulers in Egypt

Philippe de Robert argues that Egyptian shepherds were to take care of their flocks and protect them. He notes that a shepherd had many functions but that he is primarily a guide,⁴ which especially entails finding water and nourishment for his flock. These characteristics were ultimately transferred to the Pharaoh, who cared for the people even in his death and subsequent divinization.⁵ The

1 Marc Zvi Brettler, *God is King: Understanding an Israelite Metaphor*, JSOTSup 76 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1989), 36.

2 Moshe Greenberg, *Ezekiel 21–37*, AB 22A (New York, NY: Doubleday, 1997), 707–8; Jack W. Vancil, “Sheep, Shepherd,” *ABD* 5:187–90.

3 For Egyptian texts I will use Miriam Lichtheims’ volumes. For reference see Miriam Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, 3 Vols. (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2006). For other ancient Near Eastern texts, I will use James B. Pritchard’s edited volume. For reference see James B. Pritchard, ed. *The Ancient Near East: Supplementary Texts and Pictures Relating to the Old Testament*, 3rd ed. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1969).

4 Philippe de Robert, *Le Berger d’Israël: Essai sur le theme pastoral dans l’Ancien Testament*, CT 57 (Paris: Delachaux et Niestlé, 1968), 21.

5 *Ibid.*, 10.

idea of the protective shepherd-king is ancient, and Egyptians would refer to the deceased Pharaoh in these terms, “Tu les as portés sur tes bras comme le berger son bétail.”⁶

The Pharaoh, as a shepherd, is the point of contact between the gods and humanity, but he is also in charge of the well-being of society, which means he is the caretaker of the fertility of the land so that it may produce food and nourish the people of the land. In Egypt, the shepherd's crook is an insignia of the Pharaohs, symbolizing their power and obligation to maintain justice and order.⁷ We shall now look at a few ancient Egyptian texts, and while it is beyond the scope of this work to treat them in detail, we shall simply mine these texts for material relating to how a ruler is meant to care for, or shepherd, his people.

3.2.1 *Building Inscription of Sesostri I and the Prophecies of Neferti*

This leather roll inscription from Egypt's Eighteenth Dynasty (ca. 1550–1292 BCE)⁸ tells us about King Sesostri I of the Twelfth Dynasty, who ruled Upper and Lower Egypt. Pertinent to our discussion is the linking of Sesostri's title as king to him being appointed as “shepherd” of the land, which seems to connect shepherding to the act of protecting the people.⁹

The prophecies of Neferti tell of the prophecy of the sage, Neferti, who ultimately ends up uttering a prophecy regarding the future of King Snefru of the Fourth Dynasty.¹⁰ In these prophecies, Neferti condemns the many poor rulers of Egypt who have left the land desolate and hails the new redeeming ruler, Amen, who will restore bounty and order to Upper and Lower Egypt.¹¹ While the ruler is not called a shepherd, his primary task is still to ensure justice and order.

3.2.2 *The Admonitions of Ipuwer and the Eloquent Peasant*

In this papyrus from the Nineteenth Dynasty, we find another example of chaos versus order. While the *Admonitions of Ipuwer* is much longer and more damaged than the prophecies of Neferti, we are faced with a text that shows the chaos and injustice of a hurting, hungry, murdered, and robbed people.¹² The text tells the story of a weak ruler who has allowed Egypt to fall into

6 Ibid., 10.

7 Jack W. Vancil. “Sheep, Shepherd,” *ABD* 5:1188.

8 Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, 1:128–30.

9 Ibid., 1:129.

10 Ibid., 1:147–53.

11 Ibid., 1:151.

12 Ibid., 1:160–62.

complete chaos. He has failed to administer justice and to rule properly and thus cannot be called “the Herdsman of all,”¹³ nor does he live up to the archetypal ruler who has “no evil in his heart.”¹⁴

The Eloquent Peasant is a text from the Middle Kingdom which fundamentally deals with the issue of justice and shows us a peasant who was robbed and now pleads his case before the High Steward, Rensi.¹⁵ In the peasant’s second petition, he notes that the judges and magistrates are corrupt and thus not administering justice.¹⁶ The peasant further proclaims that since the country is full of injustice, its supreme leader must likewise be corrupt. In the face of injustice, the peasant declares that Rensi is a leader who leads people astray.¹⁷ In his eighth petition, the peasant ironically critiques the monarchy and proclaims it ought to be just. He urges the rulers to “Do justice for the Lord of Justice” and to “speak justice, do justice, for it is mighty.”¹⁸

3.2.3 *Conclusions*

In our brief survey of Egyptian shepherd and ruler language, we have seen that Egypt’s ruler is sometimes called “shepherd” or “herdsman” and that this title is closely connected to protection, sometimes even militarily. However, the shepherd-ruler is primarily meant to bring peace, prosperity, and justice to the land and its people. In addition to these data, we may also note that Regine Hunziker-Rodewald argues that the Pharaoh could be called a “good shepherd” and that this title often carried military overtones.¹⁹ Rodewald concludes that “als Hirt ist der Pharaon vor allen Dingen der seinem Land (militärischen) Schutz Gewährende.”²⁰ In light of these Egyptian characteristics, it will be interesting to see how Mesopotamian shepherd language functions.

3.3 *Shepherds and Rulers in Mesopotamia*

Philippe de Robert notes that while the shepherd imagery in Egypt is fairly homogenous, we see a more diverse picture in ancient Mesopotamia.²¹ While

13 Ibid., 1:162.

14 Ibid., 1:167.

15 Ibid., 1:175–88.

16 Ibid., 1:179.

17 Ibid., 1:180.

18 Ibid., 1:186.

19 Regine Hunziker-Rodewald, *Hirt und Herde: Ein Beitrag zum alttestamentlichen Gottesverständnis*, BWA(N)T 155 (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 2001), 22. This observation becomes foundational for Willitts’ and Baxter’s studies.

20 Hunziker-Rodewald, *Hirt und Herde*, 25.

21 de Robert, *Le Berger d’Israël*, 13.

there are more data from Mesopotamia, which paint a more variegated picture, we still find substantial elements of coherence with the concept of the shepherd-ruler metaphor from the Egyptian texts. For example, a Middle Assyrian copy of a Babylonian proverb indicates that kingship and shepherding are tied together saying, “a people without a king (is like) sheep without a shepherd.”²²

3.3.1 *Lipit-Ishtar Law Code*

The prologue to this royal law code says that King Lipit-Ishtar has been divinely granted the “princship of the land”²³ in order to “establish justice [níg-si-sà] in the land.” In establishing justice in the land, Lipit-Ishtar refers to himself as a “wise shepherd” [sipad-giš-tuku].²⁴ Lipit-Ishtar thus embodies the shepherd-ruler metaphor and especially the notion that the shepherd’s rule is meant to establish justice and generate “well-being”²⁵ for the people of the land. The point is that without a shepherd like Lipit-Ishtar, the land and its people would not achieve justice and well-being. This text highlights administering justice and promoting human flourishing as hallmarks of a good shepherd-ruler.

3.3.2 *Code of Hammurabi and Other Texts*

The Code of Hammurabi, much like the Lipit-Ishtar law code, presents the king as a divinely chosen “devout prince” [rubâm na’dam] who is to establish “justice” [mišaram] and welfare in the land.²⁶ Closely linked to this description is what seems like a repetition that parallels Hammurabi’s divine calling to be a prince to his calling as a “shepherd” [rē’ûm] who “makes affluence and plenty abound.”²⁷ Hammurabi is again called a “shepherd of the people” [rē’î niši] who pleases the gods and who “makes law prevail and guides the people aright.”²⁸

Further in the law code, it speaks of actual shepherds and regulations relating to pasture rights and regulations. In the epilogue, however, the shepherd-ruler metaphor becomes evident as Hammurabi defends his rulership, saying that he did not neglect the shepherding of the people entrusted to him by Marduk.

22 W.G. Lambert, *Babylonian Wisdom Literature* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960), 232.

23 See *ANET*, 159. Transliterations are from F.R. Steele, “The Code of Lipit-Ishtar” vol. 52, no. 3 *AJA* (1948): 432.

24 *ANET*, 159.

25 *ANET*, 161.

26 *ANET*, 164. Transliterations are from M.E.J. Richardson, *Hammurabi’s Laws: Text, Translation and Glossary* (London: T&T Clark, 2004), 29–40.

27 *ANET*, 164.

28 *ANET*, 165.

Furthermore, Hammurabi calls himself a “beneficent shepherd whose scepter is righteous”²⁹ and who caused the people to prosper and to live in peace and harmony where his wisdom and rule protected the weak and marginalized.³⁰ Hammurabi thus seems to be divinely blessed to enact justice and righteousness in the land.³¹

A few other artifacts warrant mention. The Sumerian King List shows that individual kings sometimes had the epithet of “shepherd” [sipa],³² and the prisms of Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal indicate that the legitimate king is also called the true “shepherd” [re-’u-um].³³ Shamash, known as the god of justice, was likewise called a shepherd.³⁴ Other gods such as Enlil, are shown to elect earthly shepherds to rule, meaning that the word “shepherd” sometimes takes on the meaning of a chosen or favored ruler, reflecting the beneficent character of the divine chief shepherd.³⁵ Mercy is also sometimes mentioned as a positive trait of both divine and human rulers.³⁶

3.3.3 Conclusions

It seems fairly certain that, as in Egypt, the Mesopotamian concept of the shepherd is closely related to the king/ruler.³⁷ The title of “shepherd” highlights the king/ruler’s benevolence toward his people³⁸ and his duty to establish justice and order.³⁹ At times, the responsibilities of protecting the people and ensuring their flourishing are couched in militaristic language, just as in Egypt.⁴⁰ However, based on the texts surveyed above, we can suitably

29 ANET, 178.

30 ANET, 178.

31 Bernard M. Levinson, “The Reconceptualization of Kingship in Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic History’s Transformation of Torah,” *VT* 51, no. 4 (2001): 514.

32 ANET, 265–66. Transliteration is taken from Thorkild Jacobsen, *The Sumerian King List*, AS 11 (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1939), 73–89.

33 ANET, 289. Transliteration is taken from Erle Leichty, *The Royal Inscriptions of Esarhaddon, King of Assyria (680–669 BCE)*, RINAP 4 (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2011), 11.

34 ANET, 556.

35 ANET, 574, 583.

36 ANET, 291, 297, 298, 301, 397. Ishtar is praised for her righteousness and mercy as a shepherdess, see ANET, 384, 451.

37 Henri Frankfort, *Kingship and the Gods: A Study of Ancient Near Eastern Religion as the Integration of Society and Nature*, Phoenix ed. (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1978), 237, 256–61, 309.

38 de Robert, *Le Berger d’Israël*, 13.

39 Frankfort, *Kingship and the Gods*, 239, 308–12.

40 ANET, 558; Hunziker-Rodewald, *Hirt und Herde*, 22–25.

agree with Bernard Levinson that “a primary duty of the monarch was to administer justice.”⁴¹

3.4 Shepherds and Rulers in the Torah

Before we begin this section, we must note, again, that a complete picture of shepherd language in the Jewish Scriptures is beyond the scope of this project.⁴² Hunziker-Rodewald remarks that shepherd imagery is pervasive in the Hebrew Bible, making it difficult to gather a complete picture of what the shepherd-herd metaphor represents since these images come from a wide range of literary and socio-cultural traditions.⁴³ Since my work focuses on the shepherd-ruler imagery in 1–2 Samuel, it seems prudent to commence our investigation of such language in the Torah to establish a general framework for the shepherd imagery of the Jewish Scriptures.

In Genesis 4:2, Abel is one who shepherds (עֹבֵד רֶעִה/Αβελ ποιμήν προβάτων), which seems to resemble the profession of the later Patriarchs (Gen 47:3).⁴⁴ Genesis 49:24 describes YHWH as a shepherd, communicating a strong and secure foundation for faith in YHWH’s ability to lead and protect. Given the link between kingship and shepherding, YHWH is thus portrayed as a king who shepherds supremely well. However, the Hebrews encounter another king, the Pharaoh, who treats them anything but fairly in the book of Exodus.⁴⁵ In the book of Exodus, a new Pharaoh emerges who does not know of Joseph (Exod 1:8), and who begins to oppress the Hebrews (Exod 1:12). Given what we know of the ideal picture of a Pharaoh who shepherds the people of the land, we can almost hear an echo of the Eloquent Peasant urging the Pharaoh to act justly. However, the Jewish Scriptures begin the story of Moses amidst what an alert reader would consider a genuine injustice since the Hebrews are not guilty of any crimes.⁴⁶ The text thus portrays a Hebrew experience of an oppressive shepherd-ruler, Pharaoh, yet their true and mighty shepherd,

41 Levinson, “Reconceptualization of Kingship” 515.

42 The MT text will be from *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*, and I will use Rahlfs’s two volume work *Septuaginta, id est Vetus Testamentum Graece iuxta LXX interpretes* (1935) throughout the study unless otherwise noted.

43 Hunziker-Rodewald, *Hirt und Herde*, 12.

44 Jonathan Gan, *The Metaphor of Shepherd in the Hebrew Bible: A Historical-Literary Reading* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 2007), 40.

45 Although the Pharaoh is not called a shepherd his reign as king over Egypt is part of the shepherd-king metaphor of the ANE cultural encyclopedia.

46 William H.C. Propp, *Exodus 1–18*, AB 2 (New York, NY: Doubleday, 1999), 135–36.

YHWH, leads them out of oppression and into eventual flourishing. However, the memory of oppression and poor shepherding in Egypt is retained in the Jewish Scriptures. In Exodus 22:21, repeated in 23:9, we see that Israel ought to treat strangers⁴⁷ well in the land, do justice in the land, and show mercy/kindness to the foreigners because they were oppressed strangers in Egypt.

The Exodus narrative also portrays YHWH leading the Hebrews through the wilderness while feeding, protecting, and caring for them as a good shepherd.⁴⁸ Indeed, the shepherd metaphor comes across particularly in Exodus 15:13, where shepherd language is applied to YHWH as he guides (נחה) the Hebrews into his holy pasture (נֶחֱלֶה).⁴⁹ That YHWH's guiding his people like a flock into a pasture is understood as a shepherding metaphor is confirmed in Psalm 77:21MT/76:21LXX/OG, where YHWH guides (נחה/ὁδηγέω) the people as sheep (ἱσὺ/πρόβατον) by the hand of Moses and Aaron. As the human leader, Moses likewise takes on the role of a shepherd-ruler, thus becoming a secondary shepherd-ruler of Israel who mirrors the great shepherd, YHWH.⁵⁰

As a shepherd-ruler, Moses even protects Israel from YHWH's wrath (Exod 32:11–14), and he enters into the role of shepherd-ruler from a position of actually tending sheep (Exod 3:1) thus reinforcing the shepherd-ruler metaphor. Moses, as a shepherd-ruler, is not primarily a military leader. Instead, he leads the people into YHWH's will, thereby protecting them and guiding them towards flourishing in the Promised Land.⁵¹ After the death of Moses, new shepherd-rulers emerge because the Spirit of YHWH chooses a successor and ultimately serves as the sign of the divinely chosen shepherd-ruler.⁵²

In the book of Numbers, Joshua succeeds Moses, which the author deems important lest the people be like "sheep without a shepherd" (Num 27:17). According to Numbers, Israel needs a shepherd to protect and lead them and to "go out and come in before them" and "lead them out and bring them in" (Num 27:17). This going and leading has military connotations,⁵³ yet it seems to me that the narrative itself also places this shepherd language close to matters of justice.

47 LEH, s.v. "προσήλυτος"; LSJ, s.v. "προσηλύτευσις"; HALOT, s.v. "גֵּר".

48 Timothy S. Laniak, *Shepherds After My Own Heart: Pastoral Traditions and Leadership in the Bible*, NSBT 20 (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2006), 77–87; de Robert, *Le Berger d'Israël*, 45–46.

49 Laniak, *Shepherds After My Own Heart*, 84. For the primary meaning of נֶחֱלֶה as grazing place or pastureland see HALOT, s.v. "נֶחֱלֶה" § 1.

50 Laniak, *Shepherds After My Own Heart*, 87.

51 Gerhard von Rad, *Old Testament Theology*, 2 vols., trans. D.M.G. Stalker (Louisville, KY: John Knox, 2001), 1:292–96.

52 Laniak, *Shepherds After My Own Heart*, 92.

53 Philip J. Budd, *Numbers*, WBC 5 (Waco: TX: Word Books, 1984), 306.

Before Moses' appointment of Joshua as his successor, YHWH told Moses how to administer justice, or at least how to adjudicate certain matters (Num 27:1–22). Moses' task, in establishing YHWH's judgment/justice (תִּקְּן וְשִׁפְּטָה/δικαίωμα κρίσεως) for the daughters of Zelophehad, was to help them flourish.⁵⁴ This story is closely linked to shepherding, or leading a people (Num 27:11), and precedes Joshua's appointment to lead the people so they will not be "like sheep without a shepherd" (Num 27:17). We will want to remember this passage in Numbers as it is thematically connected to David's appointment to rule and "go out and come in" in 2 Samuel 5:2b.⁵⁵ It is important to note that the shepherd metaphor is applied to people before the institution of the monarchy, and shepherding people thus means more than ruling in a monarchical sense, it means to lead well, to protect, and ultimately do so by the will and power of YHWH, the chief shepherd. As a prophet, Moses functions as a shepherd-ruler for the Hebrews in their wilderness wanderings, which includes guiding, nurturing, feeding, and administering justice.⁵⁶

In the final book of the Torah, Deuteronomy lays out some of the rules and regulations for what kingship, or proper shepherding, ought to look like. The pertinent section (Deut 17:14–20) serves as an important point of comparison to the view of kingship in 1–2 Samuel, and to the notion that proper kingship necessitates justice.⁵⁷ Deriving much from the four prior books, Deut 17 deals with appropriate conduct within the land, and verses 14–20 deal with proper rulership. These verses indicate that leadership is a prime concern of the authors of the Torah,⁵⁸ and the purpose of this law seems to be to command the king "not to place his trust in any of the normal sources of power to which a king might turn (military, political, or economic)."⁵⁹ Importantly, these regulations for the kingship are incorporated in the 1–2 Samuel narrative (1 Sam 8:11–17).⁶⁰

54 Juliana Claassens, "Give Us a Portion Among Our Father's Brothers': The Daughters of Zelophehad, Land, and the Quest for Human Dignity," *JSOT* 37 (2013): 335–37.

55 P. Kyle McCarter Jr., *1 Samuel*, AB 9 (New York, NY: Doubleday, 1984), 132.

56 Laniak, *Shepherds After My Own Heart*, 87–88.

57 David G. Firth, *1–2 Samuel*, AOTC 8 (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2009), 113–14; Keith Bodner, *1 Samuel: A Narrative Commentary*, HBM 19 (Sheffield: Phoenix Press, 2008), 72–73.

58 Duane L. Christensen, *Deuteronomy 1–21:9*, WBC 6A (Nashville, TN: Thomas Nelson Publishers, 2001), 381.

59 Christensen, *Deuteronomy 1–21:9*, 384.

60 Halpern, *Constitution of the Monarchy*, 226.

3.4.1 *Conclusions*

This brief survey of shepherd-ruler imagery in ANE texts and the Torah indicates that the human ruler or king/ruler is often called “shepherd” and is chosen by the deity primarily to protect the populace and ensure justice. The notion of justice and righteousness is paramount in the texts surveyed, and the king’s responsibility to act justly is rooted in a greater sense of divine righteousness. As Richard G. Smith notes:

For ancient Israelite writers there is a sense in which justice and righteousness was a sort of first principle in the Yahwistic universe. It was a standard defined and adhered to by God himself and to which he subjects his order. The same may be said with respect to Mesopotamian writers and their gods.⁶¹

In the Torah, YHWH stipulates that if the chosen ruler listens to him then *shalom* (in all its justice/peace/flourishing entailments) can materialize. The human shepherd-ruler’s obedience to YHWH helps him rule YHWH’s people so that they are not like sheep without a shepherd. As readers, we can then reasonably expect that the royal narrative in 1–2 Samuel will engage with these themes.

While the narrative/literary structure of 1–2 Samuel is contested,⁶² the working assumption in this study is that the books of 1–2 Samuel contain three main themes: the validity and purpose of the monarchy, the life of David, and succession to the throne.⁶³ In relation to the purpose and validity of the monarchy, one crucial sub-theme becomes that of power and justice. It seems 1–2 Samuel continually ask whether the ruler of Israel will secure justice for the people and be the righteous ruler he ought to be.⁶⁴ The theme of power

61 Richard G. Smith, *The Fate of Justice and Righteousness During David’s Reign: Rereading the Court History and its Ethics According to 2 Samuel 8:15b–20:26*, LHBOTS 508 (London: T&T Clark, 2009), 43.

62 Michael Avioz, “The Literary Structure of the Books of Samuel: Setting the Stage for a Coherent Reading,” *CBR* 16, no. 1 (2017): 8–33. From a structural perspective, one of the key issues relates to whether or not one includes 1 Kings 1–2 in the narrative of 1–2 Samuel so that the story ends with the death of David or if 2 Samuel 21–24 provide a suitable conclusion.

63 One may propose several other important themes, yet these three seem to be fairly accepted in the secondary literature. For reference see April D. Westbrook, *‘And He Will Take Your Daughters ...’: Woman Story and the Ethical Evaluation of Monarchy in the David Narrative*, LHBOTS 582 (London: T&T Clark, 2015), 8.

64 Westbrook, *David Narrative*, 39; Jon D. Levenson, *Sinai and Zion: An Entry into the Jewish Bible* (New York, NY: HarperOne, 1987), 214–15; Shemaryahu Talmon, *King, Cult and*

and justice in relation to kingship is not a surprise given what we know about kings who are called shepherds in the greater ANE world. A suitable place to begin is thus 2 Sam 5:2 since that is where David is specifically anointed king and told to shepherd the people.

Calendar in Ancient Israel (Leiden: Brill/Jerusalem: Magness Press, 1986), 37; Brettler, *God as King*, 111–13.

The Shepherd-Ruler in 1–2 Samuel

4.1 Introduction

Since shepherd language regarding David in 1–2 Samuel is part of the crux of this project, we shall commence with an exegetical treatment of 2 Sam 5:2. An examination of this passage is necessary because it is alluded to in Matt 2:6 and applied to Jesus. In an effort to understand the intertext in its own larger context, we shall thus examine the passage and investigate how the particular coupling of David being anointed as a **דָּוִד/הָגוֹשֵׁם** to shepherd the people might generate a theme or motif in 1–2 Samuel as a whole. Following the exegesis of 2 Sam 5:2, we shall (A) look at the meaning of the lexeme **דָּוִד/הָגוֹשֵׁם** within 1–2 Samuel, and (B) investigate how the **דָּוִד/הָגוֹשֵׁם** functions theologically/ideologically within the larger narrative of 1–2 Samuel.

4.2 David's Anointing by the Tribes of Israel (2 Sam 5:2)

In 2 Samuel 5:1, all the tribes of Israel come together to affirm and instate YHWH's chosen **דָּוִד/הָגוֹשֵׁם** as the **מֶלֶךְ/בַּאֲשִׁלֵּשׁ** of Israel. Before David's anointing by the elders at Hebron, the tribes exclaim that even while Saul was **מֶלֶךְ**, David had functioned as a leader and was destined to shepherd the people as a **דָּוִד/הָגוֹשֵׁם** (2 Sam 5:2).¹ Unsurprisingly, we have a coupling of shepherding and ruling, a link which we have already seen in ANE sources and other texts within the Jewish Scriptures. However, the shepherd-ruler connection is only made explicitly here in 1–2 Samuel.² The question, however, becomes whether shepherding, which is here coupled with **דָּוִד/הָגוֹשֵׁם**, is primarily connected to “didst lead out and bring in Israel” (2 Sam 5:2a JPS) and thus carries military connotations,³ or whether we may suggest something else?⁴

1 McCarter notes 2 Sam 5:1–2 is Deuteronomistic. See McCarter, *11 Samuel*, 133. For my definition and usage of the term “deuteronomistic” see section 4.4.1 of this study.

2 McCarter, *11 Samuel*, 132.

3 See Hunziker-Rodewald, *Hirt und Herde*, 25. She is followed by NT scholars Wayne Baxter and Joel Willits who highlight the military aspects of **הָגוֹשֵׁם** and shepherding.

4 Mettinger and Halpern have already suggested **דָּוִד** is not primarily a militaristic/warrior term. See Mettinger, *King and Messiah*, 172; Halpern, *The Constitution of the Monarchy*, 2.

First, we must establish that David leading Israel “out and in” refers to his military prowess.⁵ However, does the statement which follows (וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה הֲלִי וַיֵּלֶךְ אִתָּהּ/καὶ εἶπεν κύριος πρὸς σέ σὺ ποιμανεῖς τὸν λαόν μου τὸν Ἰσραῆλ) belong with David’s military accomplishments, or does it refer to something else? The Masoretes place a significant disjunctive accent, *atnach*, after “led Israel in an out” and right before “and YHWH said,” signifying a break. Interestingly, the following statements where YHWH tells David to shepherd his people and be their נָגִיד are merely separated by a *zaqef qaton*, thus binding נָגִיד and shepherding more closely together than to “leading out and bringing in.” Further, we should note that David’s military exploits of leading Israel out and in are grammatically constructed as two *hiphil* participles following a *qal* perfect (הִיְיָתָה), which indicates a past activity. Following the *atnach*, we are told of YHWH’s decrees to David to shepherd (תִּרְעֶה) and to be the ruler (תִּהְיֶה לְנָגִיד) in a *qal* imperfect construction which communicates a future orientation. This Hebrew grammatical construct is reflected in the LXX/OG where the leading out and bringing in is tied to an imperfect form of εἰμί, whereas shepherding and being the ruler are connected to a future form of the same verb.

גַּם־אֶת־מֹלֵךְ־גִּם־שְׁלֹשׁ־בְּהֵיֹת־שָׂאֹל־מִלֶּךְ־עָלֵינוּ־אֶתָּה־הַיֵּיתָה־מוֹצִי־וְהַמְבִי־אֶת־יִשְׂרָאֵל־וַיֹּאמֶר־יְהוָה־לֵךְ־אֶתָּה־תִּרְעָה־אֶת־עַמִּי־אֶת־יִשְׂרָאֵל־וְאַתָּה־תִּהְיֶה־לְנָגִיד־עַל־יִשְׂרָאֵל׃

(2 Sam 5:2)

καὶ ἐχθὲς καὶ τρίτην ὄντος Σαουλ βασιλέως ἐφ’ ἡμῖν σὺ ἦσθα ὁ ἐξάγων καὶ εἰσάγων τὸν Ἰσραὴλ καὶ εἶπεν κύριος πρὸς σέ σὺ ποιμανεῖς τὸν λαόν μου τὸν Ἰσραὴλ καὶ σὺ ἔσει εἰς ἡγούμενον ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰσραὴλ (2 Sam 5:2)

Given the grammar and Masoretic accenting, 2 Sam 5:2 presents a sense of a break of thought between the past action of David's leading out and in and his future-oriented role as the shepherding $\tau\alpha\lambda\iota/\eta\gamma\omicron\upsilon\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$ (2 Sam 5:2b). It appears YHWH's words to David to shepherd as a $\tau\alpha\lambda\iota/\eta\gamma\omicron\upsilon\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$ is not to be understood primarily in relation to his past military prowess. Rather, both the Hebrew and Greek grammar and syntax suggest we instead consider the $\tau\alpha\lambda\iota/\eta\gamma\omicron\upsilon\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$ primarily in relation to shepherding, which in this passage is a future role not associated with David's military exploits. This coheres with Tomoo Ishida's notion that the confirmation of David as king at Hebron was based upon three separate elements; "a) the people of Israel were David's bone and flesh (11 Sam 5:1); b) David was the leader of the army of Israel under Saul (5:2a);

5 McCarter, *II Samuel*, 132.

c) Yahweh designated him *nagîd* over Israel (5:2b).⁶ This, of course, moves us to investigate what it means to shepherd as a רֹבֵאֵל in 1–2 Samuel as a separate task from military activity.

It seems quite likely David's previous actions as a leader of the people (2 Sam 5:2) refer to his movements as YHWH's anointed on the run from the רֹבֵאֵל, Saul. In this capacity, he appears to have given refuge to those who were oppressed (1 Sam 22:1)⁷ and to have acted righteously in most manners, including his merciful and just dealings with Nabal (1 Sam 25)⁸ as well as Saul and his dynasty (1 Sam 24; 2 Sam 3:28). While David certainly functioned as a military commander as well, his shepherding of people as a רֹבֵאֵל/ἡγούμενος in 2 Sam 5:2 points to "a broader range of responsibilities."⁹ In light of what we know of shepherd language from ANE texts and the Torah, these broader responsibilities seem to point to his responsibility to procure justice and well-being for the people.

The Masoretic disjunctive accent between the overtly military segment "leading out and bringing in" and YHWH's call for David to be the רֹבֵאֵל/ἡγούμενος who shepherds the people makes it eminently possible, and plausible, that the military activity is one aspect of David's ascent to power, whereas shepherding as a רֹבֵאֵל/ἡγούμενος is now his primary duty.

4.2.1 Conclusions

Shepherd imagery and military actions may be connected in various other texts, but the grammatical structure of 2 Sam 5:2, as well as the thematic evidence from other ANE texts, should make us hesitant to embrace Hunziker-Rodewald's and Willitts' notion that 2 Sam 5:2 portrays the רֹבֵאֵל/ἡγούμενος as a shepherding commander/warrior.¹⁰ The term רֹבֵאֵל/ἡγούμενος is primarily linked to a shepherding activity, as opposed to the militaristic "out and in" language in 2 Sam 5:2. As such, we can suitably say the term, in this context, is more aligned with matters of well-being and justice than military activity.¹¹ These findings correspond with Ellen Van Wolde, who notes that the terms רֹבֵאֵל and רֹבֵאֵל emphasize different aspects of leading, saying:

6 Tomoo Ishida, *The Royal Dynasties in Ancient Israel: A Study on the Formation and Development of Royal-Dynastic Ideology*, BZAW 142 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1977), 74.

7 Brueggemann, *First and Second Samuel*, 156–57.

8 Although his act of righteousness is caused by Abigail's intervention.

9 Laniak, *Shepherds After My Own Heart*, 101.

10 Hunzinger-Rodewald, *Hirt und Herde*, 43; Willitts, *Matthew's Davidic Shepherd-King*, 55–57.

11 Brueggemann, *First and Second Samuel*, 238.

These two leadership terms function in different conceptual domains: *maelæk* refers to military, constitutional, hereditary leadership reflecting human relationships, whereas *nagîd* refers to spatial, non-constitutional leadership reflecting the relationships between YHWH and his people.¹²

Moving forward, we shall investigate how David as the anointed דָּגַל/הָגוֹם-מֶנֶס shepherds the people in 1–2 Samuel. We shall see if he acts militarily as a דָּגַל/הָגוֹם-מֶנֶס, or if my exegesis of 2 Sam 5:2 corresponds to the rest of 1–2 Samuel's portrayal of David as דָּגַל/הָגוֹם-מֶנֶס. These investigations will tell us how 1–2 Samuel ideally perceive the role of YHWH's chosen shepherd-ruler, and if David lives up to said expectations. Indeed, David's anointing at Hebron as the ruler who is to shepherd the people is part of the narrative portrayal of how YHWH established David's reign, which is meant to produce justice and righteousness (2 Sam 5:18a). The rest of 2 Sam is then the account of whether David succeeded in establishing כִּרְמָא וְכִרְמָא וְכִרְמָא וְכִרְמָא (2 Sam 8:15).¹³

Part of the following investigation is thus to sketch 1–2 Samuel's portrayal of ideal kingship and its tenets and the larger theological themes of 1–2 Samuel. Since justice/righteousness is a key component of kingship, this chapter will conclude by evaluating David's righteousness in 1–2 Samuel. This is important since the final chapters of the study will systematically investigate 1–2 Samuel in Matthew. Being able to satisfy Hays' criterion of thematic coherence properly depends on a robust understanding of 1–2 Samuel's themes and meaning. But before reaching a conclusion I will proceed with a brief survey of scholarship on the lexical meaning of דָּגַל/הָגוֹם-מֶנֶס, and then explore the literary and thematic contexts of the term in 1–2 Samuel and its potential associations with justice/righteousness.

4.3 דָּגַל and הָגוֹם-מֶנֶס Lexically Speaking

In Hebrew, the noun דָּגַל occurs 44 times in the Hebrew Scriptures¹⁴ and is often translated as “prince,” yet it can also be glossed as “court or cult official.”¹⁵ In Old Aramaic, a semantic root equivalent is found on Sefire III (8th century

12 Ellen van Wolde, “A Leader Led by a Lady: David and Abigail in 1 Samuel 25,” ZAW 114 (2002): 372. Contra Willitts and Baxter who appear to understand the terms as being functionally synonymous.

13 Smith, *The Fate of Justice and Righteousness During David's Reign*, 70, 78.

14 Hasel, “דָּגַל” TDOT 9:88.

15 HALOT, s.v. “דָּגַל.”

Stele) where the word means “my high ones,” “my officers/my generals,”¹⁶ or “my military commanders.”¹⁷ The term דגל has regularly been associated with the leader of Israel’s militia.¹⁸ On the other hand, we see the term שׂר (1 Sam 14:50; 17:18, 55, 18:30; 22:2; 26:5) used of a person who exercised military leadership akin to a “commander” or “officer,”¹⁹ which thus makes understanding the דגל as primarily a military commander problematic when there was already a word for it in Hebrew.²⁰ Although we do not have sufficient grounds to reach a conclusion,²¹ what is left as a basic lexical meaning of דגל is something that carries the meaning of “leader,” “exalted,” or “in front of.”²²

The frequent Greek translation of דגל , $\eta\gamma\acute{o}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$, retains much the same meaning.²³ In 1–2 Samuel, the lexeme is used for David as a substantive present participle, $\eta\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$, which most often renders an understanding of ‘rule,’ ‘supremacy,’ or ‘be at the head.’²⁴ The Greek translators primarily understand Israel’s דגל , evidenced by the various uses of $\eta\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$, as pertaining to headship or being a chosen leader/ruler in 1–2 Samuel. Ceslas Spicq notes $\eta\gamma\acute{o}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$ is a wide-ranging term designating various forms of leadership and that the papyri show the $\eta\gamma\acute{o}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$ was someone with broad administrative responsibilities.²⁵ Given the generic sense of the term, the specific meaning of דגל has led to diverse interpretations amongst scholars. In this study of 1–2 Sam, there is a one-to-one correspondence between the occurrences of דגל and $\eta\gamma\acute{o}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$ except for our treatment of 1 Sam 9:16; 10:1 where Saul’s anointing as דגל is rendered as $\alpha\rho\chi\omicron\nu\tau\alpha$. However, the LXX/OG of 1 Sam 15:17 uses $\eta\gamma\acute{o}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$ to remind Saul of his election in 1 Sam 9:16. All the other instances of דגל in this study (1 Sam 25:30; 2 Sam 5:2; 6:21; 7:8) has a one-to-one correspondence with $\eta\gamma\acute{o}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$. It will serve us well to briefly look at the major studies on the specific meaning of דגל as they also elucidate the contextual meaning of term $\eta\gamma\acute{o}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$ in the Greek translations of 1–2 Samuel.

16 Hasel, “ דגל ” *TDOT* 9:188.

17 Joseph Fitzmyer, *The Aramaic Inscriptions of Sefire*, BibOr 19A, rev. ed. (Rome: Editrice Pontificio Istituto Biblio, 1995), 151–52.

18 Hasel, “ דגל ” *TDOT* 9:194. Mettinger argues against this militia interpretation. See Mettinger, *King and Messiah*, 172.

19 HALOT, s.v. “ דגל .”

20 Halpern, *The Constitution of the Monarchy*, 2–3.

21 Ibid., 3.

22 Paul Joüon, “Notes de lexicographie hébraïque,” *Bib* 17 (1936): 229–33; Kenneth T. Aitken, “ דגל ” *NIDOTTE* 3:21.

23 BDAG, s.v. $\eta\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$.

24 GE, s.v. $\eta\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$.

25 Ceslas Spicq, “ $\eta\gamma\acute{o}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$,” *TLNT* 2:169.

4.3.1 *Brief Survey of Scholarship on נָגִיד*

In 1930, Albrecht Alt wrote about what he called the “religious aura” of the word נָגִיד, which he thought signified a person who was revealed, or designated, to be king by YHWH.²⁶ A few years later, and a little further north, Danish scholar Johannes Pedersen touted the נָגִיד as connected to the tribal identity of early Israel, which is why Pedersen translates נָגִיד into Danish as *høvding*²⁷ (chieftain). Pedersen asserts that when YHWH chose his first נָגִיד, Saul, he retained the characteristics of a tribal chieftain by residing on a farm (1 Sam 20:24–25) and by not adopting the splendors of a royal court.²⁸

In 1957–58, Martin Noth wrote about Israel’s tribal milieu and her hesitance toward monarchy, suggesting נָגִיד means a “ruler appointed by God,”²⁹ often for military action.³⁰ This view paid homage to Alt and held sway because נָגִיד occurs in the Deuteronomistic History³¹ where nine of its eleven occurrences are uttered by YHWH.

In 1961, W.F. Albright challenged Alt’s notion of the religious aspects of the נָגִיד and argued it meant “military leader” in 1 Samuel 10:1.³² Albright substantiated his claims by appealing to the Aramaic inscriptions of Sefire wherein the root *ngd* could only carry military connotations.³³ Albright wanted to disassociate נָגִיד from the kingship and viewed the נָגִיד as a pre-monarchic term denoting a charismatic military commander endowed by YHWH’s spirit.

W. Richter thoroughly investigated the previous scholarly claims in a journal article published in 1965.³⁴ Richter compared the formulaic aspects regarding the נָגִיד in the Deuteronomistic History and saw, much like Alt, that YHWH was

26 Alt first promoted his idea in 1930. For reference see the later English translation of Alt’s work; Albrecht Alt, *Essays on Old Testament History and Religion*, trans. R.A. Wilson (Garden City, NY: Anchor Books, 1968), 254.

27 Johannes Pedersen, *Israel: Helliged og Guddomeliged* (Copenhagen: Povl Branner, 1934), 35–39.

28 Ibid., 37.

29 Martin Noth, *The Laws in the Pentateuch and Other Studies*, trans. D.R. Ap-Thomas (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd Ltd., 1966), 254.

30 Martin Noth, *The History of Israel*, rev. ed. trans. P.R. Ackroyd (New York, NY: Harper and Row, 1960), 169.

31 See 1 Sam 9:16; 10:1; 13:14; 25:30; 2 Sam 5:2; 6:21; 7:8; 1 Kgs 1:35; 14:7; 16:2; 2 Kgs 20:5.

32 W.F. Albright, “Samuel and the Beginning of the Prophetic Movement,” in *Interpreting the Prophetic Tradition: The Goldenson Lectures 1955–1966*, ed. Harry M. Orlinsky (Cincinnati, OH: The Hebrew Union College Press/Ktav Publishing House NY, 1969), 163.

33 Ibid., 164. This was later modified by Albright’s student, Frank M. Cross, who argued that נָגִיד should “probably be translated commander.” See Frank Moore Cross, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic: Essays in the History of the Religion of Israel* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1973), 220.

34 W. Richter, “Die nagid-Formel: Ein Beitrag zur Erhellung des nagid-Problems,” *BZ* 9 (1965): 71–84.

an almost constant presence whenever the term occurred. Richter believed מָלִיךְ to be the natural link between the previous savior-judges and the early monarchy, and he held the term to be pre-monarchic.³⁵ Richter thought the מָלִיךְ was still bound to a military function³⁶ and further argued that technically only Saul was anointed מָלִיךְ since his successors did not specifically have a prophet anoint them and call them מָלִיךְ like in Saul's case.

In 1976 Tryggve Mettinger argued, using source and redaction criticism, that מָלִיךְ was first used in 1 Kings 1:35 as a secular title denoting the "heir-apparent."³⁷ Later, in Deuteronomistic redaction, the מָלִיךְ became theologized to mean YHWH's chosen and functioned to create links between the monarchs.³⁸ Mettinger thoroughly downplayed Albright's and Richter's idea that מָלִיךְ is a pre-monarchic³⁹ militaristic term⁴⁰ and highlighted the term's religious or sacral aspects (2 Sam 7) as well as its unlikely Deuteronomistic composition.⁴¹

In 1981, Baruch Halpern developed Alt's position, remarking that מָלִיךְ was the correct term in a dynastic setting for the designated heir.⁴² Along with Mettinger, Halpern argued the term is not pre-monarchial, but contra Mettinger he saw מָלִיךְ as part of the Deuteronomistic history.⁴³ Halpern fundamentally argued the title מָלִיךְ is intimately linked to the "principle of divine selection,"⁴⁴ and he makes a good case for reviving Alt's original perspective with slight modifications.

In 1998, Donald F. Murray investigated the term in light of its narrative use in 1–2 Samuel. He established a basic meaning of the chosen מָלִיךְ as someone marked by YHWH and "expressing Yahweh's ideology of leadership while branding *melek* with the stigma of betraying an all too human view of it."⁴⁵ Murray concludes the term is an ideological representation of a ruler who obeys YHWH, and it is a "role Yahweh instituted for the welfare of his people."⁴⁶ Murray's view, founded on the narrative of 1–2 Samuel, clearly sees a religious

35 Richter, "Die nagid-Formel," 76–80.

36 Ibid., 75–6.

37 Mettinger, *King and Messiah*, 164–65.

38 Ibid., 165–71.

39 Ibid., 231.

40 Ibid., 172.

41 Ibid., 167.

42 Halpern, *The Constitution of the Monarchy*, 9.

43 Ibid., 9.

44 Ibid., 11.

45 Donald F. Murray, *Divine Prerogative and Royal Pretension: Pragmatics, Poetics and Polemics in a Narrative Sequence about David* (2 Samuel 5.17–7.29), JSOTSup 264 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998), 297.

46 Ibid., 301.

or prophetic aura in the term and notes the דָּגִל must at all times be guided by YHWH's prophetic words, thus limiting the human ruler.

In 2006, J.G. McConville took an approach that is largely in line with Murray's and suggests the דָּגִל is chosen by YHWH and thus remains subordinate to the divine suzerain.⁴⁷ McConville notes the importance of judging in relation to the tasks of the דָּגִל , and posits the story of David's rise to power, his anointing as דָּגִל , tells the tale of "the human ability to rule justly."⁴⁸

4.3.2 *Conclusions*

In light of these variegated interpretations of דָּגִל , we should note that Alt's initial reflections seem to have found favor and elaboration in the later treatments by Halpern, Murray, and McConville. While Noth, Richter, and Albright mention a militaristic aspect, the core meaning of דָּגִל is "leader" or "one who stands before others." In 1–2 Samuel, the term carries a connotation of someone chosen and marked by YHWH meant to look out for the welfare of the people and rule justly. These central tenets of the דָּגִל dovetail with the general responsibilities of the shepherd in the ANE, and the combination of the term דָּגִל with the concept of shepherding in 2 Sam 5:2 primarily points to matters of justice and welfare.

We should also note that methodology plays an important role as the literary approaches tend to emphasize different aspects than the more historical-critical ones. The literary approaches, especially the ones by Murray and McConville, emphasize the vassal status of the דָּגִל and the more religious aspects of the title within 1–2 Samuel. In other contexts, as suggested by Albright and Cross, the word can mean something like a commander. The word דָּגִל clearly carries different nuances depending on its historical and narrative-theological context. The same is true of the Greek equivalent ἡγούμενος. Given the basic lexical gloss of "leader" for these words, we must look to the context of how they are used within 1–2 Samuel to elucidate their meaning.

4.4 $\text{דָּגִל}/\text{ἡγούμενος}$ in the Narrative-Theological Context of 1–2 Samuel

From a narrative perspective, the reader seeks to understand the structure and main themes of a text. April Westbrook argues the Michal story indicates

47 J.G. McConville, *God and Earthly Power: An Old Testament Political Theology – Genesis-Kings*, LHBOTS 454 (London: T&T Clark, 2006), 138.

48 Ibid., 138.

David is not inclined to do justice.⁴⁹ Further, the Abigail story teaches YHWH has given David his power, which means he must use said power properly and righteously,⁵⁰ and several other “woman stories” in 1–2 Samuel highlight the need for those in power to use it justly yet the Israelite king often does not.⁵¹ Indeed, the many references in the Jewish Scriptures regarding the duty of the king to uphold justice “often stress the gap between the ideal of royal justice and the actual performance of the Israelite kings.”⁵² Indeed, the matter of justice is one of the settings that elicit the request for a king in 1 Sam 8.

4.4.1 *Asking for a מֶלֶךְ – Receiving a נָגִיד*

An appropriate place to begin the narrative-theological overview of the נָגִיד/ἡγεσόμενος is 1 Samuel 8, where Samuel’s sons distort justice. The elders ask Samuel for a king to judge them (1 Sam 8:5), which means they want someone to ensure the justice Samuel’s sons are actively perverting.⁵³ We should note the injustices of Samuel’s sons are a direct violation of the Deuteronomistic⁵⁴

49 Westbrook, *David Narrative*, 63.

50 Ibid., 75.

51 Ibid., 165, 184, 207, 224, 228.

52 Brettler, *God as King*, 111–13. The king’s failings are also echoed by de Vaux. For reference see Roland de Vaux, *Les Livres de Samuel*, 2nd ed. (Paris: Cerf, 1961), 16.

53 Firth, *1–2 Samuel*, 113–14.

54 When I use the term “Deuteronomist/ic” I am not referring to a certain author(s) or redactor(s), nor the time and process of composition/redaction, but simply to the consensus that 1–2 Samuel often reflect the theology/ideology of the book of Deuteronomy. For reference see Konrad Schmid and Raymond F. Person, Jr., eds., *Deuteronomy in the Pentateuch, Hexateuch, and the Deuteronomistic History*, FAT 2.56 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2012), 1–2. Following several scholars, I believe we encounter much Deuteronomistic material in 1–2 Samuel. For reference see Martin Noth, *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Studien. Die sammelnden und bearbeitenden Geschichtswerke im Alten Testament* (Tübingen: M. Niemeyer Verlag, 1957); Timo Veijola, *Die Ewige Dynastie: David und die Entstehung seiner Dynastie nach der Deuteronomistischen Darstellung* (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedakatemia, 1975); McCarter, *1 Samuel*, 14–18; Robert Polzin, *Samuel and the Deuteronomist: A Literary Study of the Deuteronomistic History*, vol. 2 (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1993); Robert Polzin, *David and the Deuteronomist: A Literary Study of the Deuteronomistic History*, vol. 3 (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1993); Walter Dietrich, *The Early Monarchy in Israel: The Tenth Century B.C.E.*, BE 3, trans. Joachim Vette (Atlanta, GA: SBL, 2007), 8–25; Walter Dietrich, *Die Samuelbücher im deuteronomistischen Geschichtswerk: Studien zu den Geschichtsüberlieferungen des Alten Testaments II*, BWA(N)T 201 (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2012). Cynthia Edenburg and Juha Pakkala, eds., *Is Samuel Among the Deuteronomists? Current Views on the Place of Samuel in a Deuteronomistic History*, SBLAIL 16 (Atlanta, GA: SBL, 2013), 1–92. Due to the scope of this study, I am unable to elaborate on whether there was one, two, three or more Deuteronomistic redactors. However, it seems that the final text of 1–2 Samuel both in the MT and LXX/OG have significant parallels to the book of Deuteronomy, and that

command for judges to “not pervert justice” (Deut 16:19). Furthermore, the request for a king in light of injustice also fits with the portrayal in Judges chapters 17–21 where lack of order, justice, and morality in the land are linked to the absence of a king.⁵⁵

Samuel’s response to the elders’ request for a king (מֶלֶךְ/βασιλεύς) in 1 Samuel 8 is, however, ironic. The elders complain about perverted justice, yet Samuel announces to them that the ruler they want will ultimately be anything but just.⁵⁶ The irony of chapter 8 is thus that justice is sought, yet the solution of a king is predicted to bring further injustice. The elders make it clear they want a מֶלֶךְ/βασιλεύς like the other nations (1 Sam 8:5), although the Israelite kings are not supposed to be like those of other nations.⁵⁷ Their request for a king is viewed as evil וַיִּרְעוּ הַדְּבָר בְּעֵינֵי שְׁמוּאֵל (1 Sam 8:6a) because it indicates they have rejected YHWH as their king (1 Sam 8:7). The language of 1 Sam 8:5 is paralleled in Deut 17:14,⁵⁸ and the Deuteronomistic influence on 1 Samuel 8 thus casts a gloomy shadow over the inception of Israel’s monarchy.⁵⁹ Not only is it gloomy, but the reader of 1 Samuel 8 is also puzzled at the elders’ request for a מֶלֶךְ/βασιλεύς, which in turn elicits YHWH’s command to Samuel to anoint Saul as דָּגִל/ἄρχοντα over Israel (1 Sam 9:16; 10:1). YHWH thus enables the people’s wish with the slight caveat that He chooses Saul to be דָּגִל instead of מֶלֶךְ, which was the people’s wish.

The Israelites appear to glance at their neighbors when pleading for a king (1 Sam 8:5), and it is thus puzzling, and seemingly deliberate,⁶⁰ that YHWH chooses a דָּגִל instead of a מֶלֶךְ. Samuel has so far guaranteed YHWH is on

we must understand the final shape of the narrative in light of what scholars call the Deuteronomistic history. For the purposes of this study, it is assumed that the author of Matthew would have had access to a coherent text which reflected these parallels. To reiterate, when I use the term “Deuteronomistic” I am not referring to an historical single, double, or triple tradition/redaction, but merely to a theology/ideology of the book of Deuteronomy as reflected in 1–2 Samuel.

55 Gary B. Webb, *The Book of Judges*, NICOT (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2012), 420–53.

56 Bodner, *1 Samuel*, 74–75.

57 P. Kyle McCarter Jr., *1 Samuel*, AB 8 (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1980), 161; de Vaux, *Samuel*, 16.

58 Christophe Nihan, “1 Samuel 8 and 12 and the Deuteronomistic Edition of Samuel,” in *Is Samuel Among the Deuteronomists? Current Views on the Place of Samuel in a Deuteronomistic History*, eds. Cynthia Edenburg and Juha Pakkala, SBLAIL 16 (Atlanta, GA: SBL, 2013), 232.

59 Christophe Nihan, “1 Samuel 8 and 12,” 225–68.

60 Albright, “Samuel and the Beginning of the Prophetic Movement,” 63.

Israel's side against their enemies (1 Sam 7), but because of Samuel's advanced age and his sons' inability to lead justly, the Israelites desire a king who can save (נָשָׁא/σώζω) them from the Philistines (1 Sam 9:16).

In the past, judges had led and protected Israel. Consequently, people approached Gideon and entreated him to rule over them which he refused saying: "the LORD will rule over you" (Judg 8:23). The result of such a rebuff meant no king ruled the land and everyone did as they pleased (Judg 21:25). It seems the Israelite judges functioned similarly to the kings of the other nations regarding warfare and matters of justice, yet the tribes remained quite autonomous in times of peace.⁶¹ 1 Samuel 8 therefore indicates a shift in Israel's tribal makeup as they wish to appoint a מֶלֶךְ like the other nations.

4.4.2 *A King Like the Other Nations*

One of the theological objections to the Israelite ruler being like the ones in other nations may be gleaned from a larger ANE context, and by looking at how foreign kings in the Jewish Scriptures are sometimes labeled מֶלֶךְ (e.g. Gen 14:1–2; 36:31–39; Josh 12:9–24). Pharaoh is called מֶלֶךְ (Exod 1:17–18), and the Hebrews had a less-than-ideal experience with the oppressive rule of the Egyptian monarch. מֶלֶךְ-rulership, as it is encountered outside of Israel in the Jewish Scriptures, derives from the political systems of late Bronze Age Canaan and Egypt.⁶² Furthermore, מֶלֶךְ-rulership entails religious components evidenced in Egyptian and Mesopotamian gods often being labeled "king," or "king of the heaven and earth."⁶³

Parallel to these ANE traditions, YHWH functioned as מֶלֶךְ over Israel (1 Sam 8:7) and proved himself מֶלֶךְ via his power and supremacy over various foes, which the Hebrews remembered.⁶⁴ YHWH's status as מֶלֶךְ is consequently related to his might, which is evident in his capacity to overpower chaos, evil, other gods, and Israel's enemies (including foreign kings). YHWH is essentially not only מֶלֶךְ of Israel but of the whole cosmos,⁶⁵ which might help explain why YHWH designated the human ruler as נָגִיד in 1 Samuel 9:16.

Nations might create dynasties and appoint their leader as מֶלֶךְ, but YHWH is still the absolute מֶלֶךְ. No one comes close to YHWH. Therefore, all earthly kings are not YHWH's equal, regardless of title. Indeed, everyone is inferior in

61 Roland de Vaux, *Ancient Israel: Its Life and Institutions*, trans. John McHugh (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1997), 93.

62 John Gray "Canaanite Kingship in Theory and Practice" *VT* 3 (1952): 195–97.

63 *ANET*, 398, 533, 581.

64 John Gray, *The Biblical Doctrine of the Reign of God* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1979), 24–33.

65 Brettler, *God as King*, 162.

relation to YHWH.⁶⁶ Part of the reason why 1 Samuel 8–10 reflect this tension between מֶלֶךְ and נָגִיד may be rooted in the scriptural view of YHWH's suzerainty, meaning whoever leads Israel is supposed to be something other than מֶלֶךְ; he was supposed to be YHWH's chosen נָגִיד. In this light, it seems fairly evident YHWH is the suzerain and the earthly נָגִיד is a vassal.⁶⁷

The theological/ideological ideal for YHWH's chosen נָגִיד is rooted in Deut 17:14–20⁶⁸ where one finds YHWH's charges to the vassal king when shepherding his people. YHWH's appointed vassal ruler (Deut 17:15) must be one of the people, must not acquire great wealth, women, or military power (Deut 17:16–17). The requirements of the king in Deut 17 suggest he behaves as a vassal vis-à-vis YHWH because he is chosen by YHWH and must abide by his laws.⁶⁹ These responsibilities from Deut 17:14–20 are, as Halpern has reminded us, valid in 1–2 Samuel as well (1 Sam 8:11–17).⁷⁰ It is within this larger theological and narrative context that the reader first encounters a נָגִיד/ἡγεσούμενος.

4.4.3 *Introducing the נָגִיד/ἡγεσούμενος into the Narrative of 1–2 Samuel*

The term נָגִיד first occurs in 1 Sam. 9:16; 10:1 when Saul is chosen to lead. Curiously, Saul carries both the title of נָגִיד and מֶלֶךְ (1 Sam 10:17–27; 15:1). Walter Eichrodt suggests נָגִיד is an essential and favorite designation for the ruler of YHWH's people.⁷¹ Saul and David are portrayed as a vassal נָגִיד in

66 Brettler, *God as King*, 33.

67 Bar-Efrat, *Das Erste Buch Samuel*, 139; Roland de Vaux, "Le Roi d'Israel, Vassal de Yahvé," in *Mélanges Eugène Tisserent*, 2 vols. (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1964), 1:119–33.

68 Although it is traced *back* literarily within the canon, we must acknowledge that much scholarship sees Deut 17:14–20 as reflecting a later, perhaps even exilic, date of composition thus placing it later than numerous narratives in 1–2 Samuel. See Adela Y. Collins and John J. Collins, *King and Messiah as Son of God: Divine, Human, and Angelic Messianic Figures in Biblical and Related Literature* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2008), 43–47. However, the dating is insignificant to this study since the Jewish consensus regarding the kings of Israel, at the time of Jesus and the composition of Matthew, was still that of him being a vassal of YHWH based on the totality of these received texts as part of the Jewish Scriptures. Rather than arguing for which text influences which, I simply note the significant parallels between Deuteronomy and 1–2 Samuel and their shared ideology/theology and view of proper kingship.

69 Gerald E. Gerbrandt, *Kingship According to the Deuteronomistic History*, SBLDS 87 (Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1986), 113; de Vaux, "Le Roi d'Israel," 1:119–33.

70 Halpern, *The Constitution of the Monarchy*, 226.

71 Walter Eichrodt, *Old Testament Theology*, 2 vols., trans. J.A. Baker (Philadelphia, PA: The Westminster Press, 1967), 1:444.

relation to YHWH,⁷² yet as a מֶלֶךְ in relation to the people.⁷³ As we have seen, it seems the term מֶלֶךְ might denote political power, whereas דָּגִי emphasizes spiritual and sacral aspects of the chosen ruler.⁷⁴ The spiritual aspects of the term דָּגִי emerge when Saul starts to prophesy shortly after he has been anointed (1 Sam 10:10–11), and a sacral nuance of the term appears when David is persuaded not to kill Nabal in order to avoid blood-guilt (1 Sam 25) and also when he brings the Ark to Jerusalem (2 Sam 6:21). Gerhard Hasel thus suggests both דָּגִי and מֶלֶךְ may be applied to the same ruler while retaining unique aspects.⁷⁵ Despite the overlaps and similarities between the terms, it seems YHWH views the Israelite ruler as a דָּגִי, whereas the people tend to regard him more as a מֶלֶךְ.⁷⁶

The contextual nuances of דָּגִי in relation to מֶלֶךְ within 1–2 Samuel cohere well with the proposals of Alt, Mettinger, Halpern, and Murray, who argue for a base meaning of “chosen ruler.” We must remember that before Saul and David are anointed king (מֶלֶךְ/βασιλεύς) they are appointed דָּגִי/ἄρχων/ἡγούμενος by YHWH (1 Sam 9:16; 13:14). One of the overarching implications seems to be that the Israelite vassal ruler was not meant to build his own kingdom; rather, he was a vessel of YHWH’s rule.⁷⁷ A beneficial way to see this, and other central tenets of the דָּגִי/ἡγούμενος, is via the stories in 1–2 Samuel where the term is applied to David.

4.4.3.1 Abigail

The Abigail story is preceded by Saul’s speech in the previous chapter (1 Sam 24:4–22), where he confirms David is more righteous and thus rightful king because he showed mercy to Saul by not killing him (1 Sam 24:16–21). The right to rule, other than being chosen by YHWH, thus seems connected to David’s being more righteous than Saul (1 Sam 24:17). It appears we are dealing with a segment of text that presents the ideal king as a ruler who exhibits pious

72 The word דָּגִי is always associated with YHWH’s choosing in 1–2 Samuel (1 Sam 9:16, 10:1, 13:14, 25:30; 2 Sam 5:2, 6:21; 7:8).

73 Bar-Efrat, *Erste Buch Samuel*, 158.

74 Hasel, “דָּגִי” *TDOT* 9:193.

75 Hasel, “דָּגִי” *TDOT* 9:193.

76 Halpern, *The Constitution of the Monarchy*, 186. This position is justifiable, based on much of the Deuteronomistic work in the books of Samuel/Kings, because YHWH repeatedly seems to speak with authority and remind the king that He has appointed them דָּגִי/ἡγούμενος over his people (1 Sam 9:16; 13:14; 25:30; 2 Sam 5:2; 6:21, 7:8; 1 Kgs 14:7; 16:2). Indeed, the Israelite דָּגִי/ἡγούμενος is engaged in a “conditional appointment or covenant” which seems to reflect a Deuteronomistic polemic/suspicion against the kingship. For reference see Cross, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic*, 220.

77 Gerbrandt, *Kingship*, 110; Halpern, *The Constitution of the Monarchy*, 50.

righteousness and mercy.⁷⁸ It is no wonder Saul weeps in this text since he is being juxtaposed with David. Saul has failed to be faithful and righteous, and a new leader has emerged who embodies these qualities.⁷⁹

The Abigail story is couched in between the stories of David's righteous superiority over Saul, evidenced in the mirror narratives of 1 Sam 24:3–21 and 1 Sam 26:5–25. Because the story of Abigail is surrounded by the stories of David sparing Saul's life, we may suitably agree with Robert P. Gordon in that Nabal somehow functions as an ironic narrative analogy to Saul.⁸⁰ Nabal and Abigail, as literary characters in the thematic unit of 1 Sam 24–26, thus serve to underscore David's legitimacy to the throne.⁸¹

When Abigail learns of David's intention to kill Nabal she acts quickly and sets out to prevent a fight. Consequently, Abigail has a significant role in chapter 25 and must be regarded as a key to understanding the story. When Abigail first meets David, she humbly hurries to bow down before him before she starts her speech (1 Sam 25:24–31). Abigail's speech might be considered a rhetorical stroke of genius⁸² as she dissuades David by taking responsibility for Nabal's imprudence. Abigail achieves her goal and prevents David from shedding blood, and her petition that David restrain his anger in light of a more significant objective is concomitant with the conventional wisdom teaching on restraint found in Proverbs,⁸³ as well as in line with the Deuteronomistic axiom of reserving vengeance and retribution to YHWH (Deut 32:35).⁸⁴ Abigail's speech thus prevents David from breaking these scriptural principles, which might otherwise have sullied his status as YHWH's chosen ruler. In her plea for David to show restraint and mercy,⁸⁵ David is first called *דָּוִד/ἡγεούμενος* by a character other than YHWH in 1 Samuel.⁸⁶

78 McCarter, *1 Samuel*, 386.

79 Brueggemann, *First and Second Samuel*, 172–74; de Vaux, *Samuel*, 17.

80 Robert P. Gordon, "David's Rise and Saul's Demise: Narrative Analogy in 1 Samuel 24–26," *TynBul* 31 (1980): 41–43.

81 Jacques Vermeylen, "La Maison de Saül, et la Maison de David: Un Écrit de Propagande Théologico-Politique, de 1 S 11 à 2 S 7," in *Figures de David à Travers la Bible*, eds. Louis Fritz and Jacques Vermeylen, LD 177 (Paris: Edition du Cerf, 1999), 56.

82 Bar-Efrat, *Erste Buch Samuel*, 322, 329.

83 John Kessler, "Sexuality and Politics: The Motif of The Displaced Husband in The Books of Samuel," *CBQ* 62 (2000): 415.

84 Brueggemann, *First and Second Samuel*, 181. Brueggemann does not call remembering that "vengeance belongs to lord" Deuteronomistic, but it is clearly a mandate found in Dt 32:35. For similar wording see also Firth, *1–2 Samuel*, 273.

85 Moshe Halbertal and Stephen Holmes, *The Beginning of Politics: Power in the Biblical Book of Samuel* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2017), 60.

86 Indirectly David has already been named *דָּוִד* by YHWH. In fact, David is chosen by YHWH before he is even mentioned by name and introduced into the narrative. Saul is rejected

One should note Abigail speaks prophetically about David when she says YHWH will make David an enduring house (1 Sam 25:28), which finds fulfillment later in the narrative (2 Sam 7:8–17). Abigail thus takes the place of the deceased prophet, Samuel, as she speaks to David.⁸⁷ Apparently, it would be inappropriate for a $\tau\alpha\gamma\eta/\eta\gamma\omicron\upsilon\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$ to seek revenge and be sullied by bloodguilt (1 Sam 25:26, 31).⁸⁸ Abigail's appeal consists of two layers. First, Abigail assures David YHWH will vindicate him vis-a-vis Nabal if only he can restrain himself and trust YHWH. Secondly, she speaks of YHWH's commitment to David as the chosen $\tau\alpha\gamma\eta/\eta\gamma\omicron\upsilon\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$, which should allow him to ignore Nabal's insult. David's irritation with Nabal must not hinder his rightful ascent to the throne, according to Abigail.⁸⁹

1 Samuel 24 demonstrates David's righteousness and mercy, but in chapter 25 he needs the prophetic words of Abigail to save himself from bloodying his hands. A tension arises in these chapters as David is now apparently a man who is willing to kill for a grudge, thus revealing his checkered character.⁹⁰ Chapter 25 surely dims the perception of David, and his eventual shedding of innocent blood ironically becomes his downfall. The vengeful David of 1 Samuel 25 dominates the decisive episode of Bathsheba and Uriah.

The story of Abigail's intervention and prophetic speech allows the reader to understand how a $\tau\alpha\gamma\eta$ ought to act. Abigail's speech reinforces the notion that YHWH's chosen $\tau\alpha\gamma\eta$ should not slay people regardless of the circumstances.⁹¹ Abigail verifies David's divine appointment to the throne and accentuates the impiety of murder and blood guilt. Abigail enforces the idea that the true power of a $\tau\alpha\gamma\eta$ is self-control and utter reliance on YHWH. Abigail's prophetic speech thus becomes theologically/ideologically programmatic for the subsequent pericopes wherein David is referred to as $\tau\alpha\gamma\eta/\eta\gamma\omicron\upsilon\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$.

in chapter 13 by not keeping YHWH's commands (1 Sam 13:13), and in turn YHWH has chosen another $\tau\alpha\gamma\eta$ (v. 14), who later appears to be David (1 Sam 16:12–23). We must note here that the Greek version of this passage uses a participle to speak of David's status rather than a noun. The Greek text says: εἰς ἡγούμενον ἐπὶ Ἰσραὴλ. However, this participle is used substantively. For reference see *GELS*, s.v. ἡγέομαι.

87 Ellen van Wolde, "A Leader Led by a Lady: David and Abigail in 1 Samuel 25," *ZAW* 114 (2002): 367.

88 André Wénin, "David Roi, de Goliath à Bethsabée: La Figure de David dans les Livres de Samuel" in *Figures de David à Travers la Bible*, eds. Louis Desrousseaux and Jacques Vermeulen, LD 177 (Paris: Cerf, 1999), 108–10.

89 Levenson, "1 Samuel 25 as literature and as history," 20.

90 Brueggemann, *First and Second Samuel*, 174–75.

91 Levenson "1 Samuel 25 as literature and as history" 23.

4.4.3.2 Michal

In 2 Samuel 6:16–23, David brings the Ark of the Covenant to Jerusalem. David's enthusiastic procession causes one of his wives, Michal, to despise him and criticize him for exposing himself (2 Sam 6:16, 20). David responds that he is YHWH's מַלְכִּי/ἡγούμενος while she is simply the daughter of the previous and rejected king, Saul (2 Sam 6:21).⁹²

Bringing the Ark to Jerusalem thus becomes a symbol of David's divine election. YHWH chose him to be מַלְכִּי, and as מַלְכִּי he has now brought the presence and favor of YHWH to Jerusalem. David's procession before the Ark indicates he is YHWH's chosen ruler, and like Moses, David has favor when handling the Ark. Gerardo Sachs suggests David's dancing before the Ark shows he is the unique representative of the people before YHWH.⁹³ Furthermore, David's procession before the Ark as the מַלְכִּי "leads to the development of a religious leadership role."⁹⁴ The Michal episode demonstrates David is not quite like kings of other nations, because he is chosen by YHWH to care for his people (2 Sam 6:21), as Bar-Efrat notes:

David ist nicht ein König wie alle Könige, vielmehr ist das Volk, das er regiert, das Volk des HERRN (der Ausdruck „Volk des HERRN“ steht vor „Israel“), und darum hat er den HERRN mehr als das Königtum zu ehren.⁹⁵

While one may regard the Michal narrative as a legitimization of David's rule and solidification of the destruction of the Saulide dynasty,⁹⁶ one may also consider the Michal story as another warning about the potential pitfalls of human kingship. Michal seems to point out legitimate concerns regarding David's behavior, especially if we view his exposed dancing before the young women as sexually suggestive.⁹⁷

92 Shimon Bar-Efrat, *Das Zweite Buch Samuel: Ein narratologisch-philologischer Kommentar*, trans. Johannes Klein, BWA(N)T 181 (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2009), 71–72.

93 Gerardo G. Sachs, "David Dances – Michal Scoffs," *JBQ* 34 (2006): 262.

94 Christa Schäfer-Lichtenberger, "Sociological and Biblical Views of the Early State," in *The Origins of the Ancient Israelite States*, eds. Volkmar Fritz and Phillip R. Davies, JSOTSup 228 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 105.

95 Bar-Efrat, *Das Zweite Buch Samuel*, 72.

96 A. Graeme Auld, *1–11 Samuel: A Commentary*, OTL 11 (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox, 2011), 415.

97 Westbrook, *David Narrative*, 106; Carlson calls David's dance "orgiastic," suggesting it is meant to lead up to a sexual ritual with Michal or the maidens. For reference see, R.A. Carlson, *David, the Chosen King. A Traditio-Historical Approach to the Second Book of Samuel* (Uppsala: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1964), 94–95.

This woman story, like the one with Abigail, seems to highlight something about David's status as the chosen **נָגִיד**. The next question thus becomes whether this is how the **נָגִיד** ought to behave. On the one hand, the text seems to legitimize David as YHWH's chosen ruler. On the other hand, we also see aspects of abuse of power and perhaps even an ironic foreshadowing of the (dis)honor one of these young maidens will bring David.⁹⁸ The Michal story thus both legitimizes David's reign as YHWH's chosen **נָגִיד**, as well as warns the readers about this ruler's potential future shortcomings.⁹⁹ After all, the **נָגִיד** in 1–2 Samuel does not have to be perfect in a Deuteronomistic framework, and said framework might serve a theological purpose by highlighting YHWH's sovereignty in his choosing the king and said human king's flaws in contrast to the suzerain.¹⁰⁰

4.4.3.3 Nathan

Nathan's oracle (2 Sam 7:8–16) suggests YHWH is in full control of electing and rejecting the rulers of Israel, indicating a robust Deuteronomistic influence.¹⁰¹ YHWH's words to Nathan regarding David immediately paint David as a vassal since he is referred to as "my servant David" (**דָּוִדַּי הַעֲבָדִי**/τῷ δούλῳ μου Δαυιδ) in 2 Sam 7:8. YHWH's words indicate it was him who took David from the pasture to become **נָגִיד**/ἡγούμενος over his people Israel (2 Sam 7:8),¹⁰² and the oracle also establishes it was because YHWH chose David that he is making a house for David (2 Sam 7:11).¹⁰³

98 This becomes prophetically ironic if we consider Bathsheba as one of the maids whom David describes in 6:22. For reference see Westbrook, *David Narrative*, 106–7; Carlson, *David*, 95–96.

99 Firth, 1–2 *Samuel*, 379.

100 Carlson, *David*, 96.

101 McCarter, 11 *Samuel*, 217–23; Joel Rosenberg, *King and Kin: Political Allegory in the Hebrew Bible* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1986), 119; Gwilym H. Jones, *The Nathan Narratives*, JSOTSup 80 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1990), 79–90.

102 This might indicate a Deuteronomistic influence. See Carlson, *David*, 114.

103 Auld, 1–11 *Samuel*, 423. However, in this verse the MT and the LXX/OG differ substantially. The MT suggests YHWH is building a house for/to David (**וְהָגִיד לְךָ יְהוָה כִּי־בֵית יֵעָשֶׂה־לְּךָ**) whereas the Greek suggests that it is David who will build a house for/to YHWH (**καὶ ἀπαγγελεῖ σοι κύριος ὅτι οἶκον οἰκοδομήσεις αὐτῷ**). In light of the following discourse about YHWH preparing a kingdom for David's descendants (2 Sam 7:12), we might want to consider the MT as the better read since YHWH proceeds to say David's seed will build a house for YHWH and in return He will establish an eternal house for David's descendants. However, that does not mean one cannot understand the passage from a LXX/OG perspective, but 4Q174 supports the MT reading (**יְהוָה כִּי בֵית יִבְנֶה לָּכָה**). For reference see 4Q174 in Florentino García Martínez and Eibert J.C. Tigchelaar, eds., *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, 2nd ed. (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 352.

The story clearly states YHWH is the cause of David's ascension to the throne. YHWH chose David, dealt with his enemies, and made his name great. YHWH rejected Saul and chose David as the next מָלִיךְ/הָגָוֹם . David's famous military victories, which secured peace, were granted by YHWH. Israel's peace seems to be implicitly conditional because their oppression during the period of the Judges was, at least largely, due to their own waywardness (Judg 3:7–8; 10:6–7; 13:1). This principle is carried through by the Deuteronomist(s) and is also relevant to the Israelite kings (2 Sam 7:14) even though YHWH promises not to withdraw his favor permanently from the house of David (2 Sam 7:15). The reality of the fact that YHWH can withdraw his favor is evident as the “house of David” eventually crumbles as both Israel and Judah are conquered by foreign nations. Nathan's oracle thus stresses the Deuteronomistic ideology of YHWH's supremacy in electing and rejecting the rulers of Israel based upon the stipulations of Deut 17.¹⁰⁴

4.4.3.4 Conclusions about מָלִיךְ/הָגָוֹם in a Narrative-Theological Context

In 1–2 Samuel, the מָלִיךְ/הָגָוֹם is someone elected by YHWH to shepherd his flock.¹⁰⁵ Theologically and ideologically speaking, 1–2 Samuel indicate the establishment of a monarchy like the other nations was unwarranted, and the tribal people of Israel could have continued to be led by leaders and judges such as Moses, Joshua, Deborah, and Gideon. In fact, the calling and anointing of Saul and David mirror the previous calls of the judges¹⁰⁶ and fit well within the Deuteronomistic notion that YHWH is the one who chooses the human ruler. According to the Deuteronomist, Gideon was right to say, “the LORD shall rule over you” (Judg 8:23). The fact that Gideon said the right words yet acted in ways that go against the rule of the king in Deut 17 seems to cast a shadow over the potential of human kingship. Gideon's refusal to rule yet asking for golden spoils of war and subsequently making a gold idol (Judg 8:23–27) seriously questions a human ruler's ability to withstand the corruption of power and money and to lead YHWH's people properly. 1–2 Samuel bridge the period between Israel's great leaders and judges and her kings, and it seems YHWH's

¹⁰⁴ Carlson, *David*, 125.

¹⁰⁵ de Vaux, *Samuel*, 55. This does not mean that מָלִיךְ cannot have another meaning in different contexts, i.e. earlier or later Hebrew texts as well as earlier and later Aramaic texts and artefacts.

¹⁰⁶ Baruch Halpern, *The Constitution of the Monarchy*, 116; de Vaux, *Samuel*, 55.

chosen דָּוִד is supposed to continue the tradition of YHWH's mediated rule which Israel had already experienced through her judges.¹⁰⁷

The theological and ideological image of Israel's ruler in several of 1–2 Samuel's Deuteronomistic passages, and in all of the Deuteronomistic history, is of a leader who ought to be wholly reliant on YHWH for deliverance and decline to entrust himself to more earthly and common sources of power.¹⁰⁸ Roland de Vaux notes part of David's superiority over Saul is because he trusts only in YHWH.¹⁰⁹ This dependence on YHWH's power is seen in the bestowal of YHWH's Spirit in 1–2 Samuel,¹¹⁰ which may be a Deuteronomistic emphasis.¹¹¹ Out of all the rulers of Israel and Judah, only Saul and David were charismatically endowed by the Spirit,¹¹² although one may regard Solomon's wisdom as a charism of YHWH and perhaps view Jehu as a charismatic figure as well.¹¹³ The giving of the Spirit is thus foundational to the king's reliance upon YHWH and is a central aspect of the theology and ideology of kingship in 1–2 Samuel and to the meaning of the $\text{דָּוִד}/\text{הָיְגוֹשֻׁמֶנּוֹס}$. What sets the king apart is the endowment of YHWH's Spirit to shepherd the people as a pious and righteous archetype, living as an exemplar to the rest of the people.¹¹⁴ However, this idealized form of ruling was rare amongst Israel's kings, and Solomon's rule with war chariots, throngs of wives and concubines, and immense wealth is the antithesis of the $\text{דָּוִד}/\text{הָיְגוֹשֻׁמֶנּוֹס}$ and the prescriptions put forth in Deut 17.

The Abigail, Michal, and Nathan stories reinforce the Deuteronomistic notion of the $\text{דָּוִד}/\text{הָיְגוֹשֻׁמֶנּוֹס}$ as a favored individual, chosen by YHWH and utterly dependent on Him. The דָּוִד is in a covenant with the suzerain YHWH, who empowers the $\text{דָּוִד}/\text{הָיְגוֹשֻׁמֶנּוֹס}$ to rule over his people. We can thus conclude

107 Bar-Efrat, *Erste Buch Samuel*, 145. This becomes clear as Samuel addresses Israel in 1 Sam 12:1–15. Here Samuel links the new king to the leaders of old, beginning with Moses (v. 6, 8) and moving on to Gideon, Jephthah and even himself (v. 11).

108 Alison Joseph, *Portrait of the Kings: The Davidic Prototype in Deuteronomistic Poetics* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 2015), 226–32. It seems the Greek translators and compilers of the Jewish Scriptures did not see a great difference in the overall theological portrayals of kingship in 1–2 Samuel and 1–2 Kings since the Greek biblical codices place these four books under the title 1–4 *Reigns*.

109 de Vaux, *Samuel*, 17.

110 Cross, *Canaanite Myth Hebrew Epic*, 221.

111 David T. Lamb, *Righteous Jehu and His Evil Heirs: The Deuteronomist's Negative Perspective on Dynastic Succession*, OTRM (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 14.

112 William M. Schniedewind, *Society and the Promise to David: The Reception History of 2 Samuel 7:1–7* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 23.

113 Lamb, *The Deuteronomist's Negative Perspective*, 130–44.

114 Jamie A. Grant, *King as Exemplar: The Function of Deuteronomy's Kingship Law in the Shaping of the Book of Psalms* (Atlanta, GA: SBL, 2004), 294.

דָּגַל/הָגוֹדֵם is a term that designates YHWH's chosen vassal ruler over his people. The term is often associated with the status of Israel's true leader (David is chosen דָּגַל while Saul still operates as מֶלֶךְ), and it also indicates how Israel's chosen leader is supposed to use power and promote righteousness and justice as evidence in the Abigail story and David's anointing by the elders in 2 Sam 5:2.

Indeed, cumulative evidence suggests that the Israelite ruler (דָּגַל/הָגוֹדֵם) is meant to deal primarily with matters of justice and righteousness and that these parts of the royal duties are often linked to shepherd language, which then consequently means the texts utilize the common ANE and biblical shepherd-ruler metaphor. Whereas David acts as a shepherd and ruler of YHWH's people (הָגוֹדֵם), Saul is never referred to in those specific terms. But just because David is appointed a role wherein he is supposed to be righteous and act justly as a shepherd-ruler of the people does not mean he always does. Establishing the degree to which David acts righteously and justly in 1–2 Samuel is important to this study because of the potential intertextual links to Matthew. An interpretive advantage of my systematic treatment of דָּגַל/הָגוֹדֵם in 1–2 Samuel is that when Matthew evokes the Davidic shepherd metaphor from 2 Sam 5:2 in Matt 2:6, the reader is much more likely to expect concepts of justice and righteousness rather than a militaristic ruler.¹¹⁵

4.5 Matters of David's Justice and Righteousness in 1–2 Samuel

2 Samuel 8:15 says David ruled over Israel and administered justice and righteousness for all the people. There is no doubt this passage presents a glorious aspect of David's rule and the pinnacle of what an ideal king out to do.¹¹⁶ In 1–2 Samuel, David is initially shown to be a man who, on occasion, shows

¹¹⁵ Willitts and Baxter rely too heavily on Hunziker-Rodewald's general notes about shepherding without consulting the history of interpretation regarding the link to the term דָּגַל/הָגוֹדֵם in 1–2 Samuel. They thus overlook vital information about the use and function of the term vis-à-vis shepherding in 1–2 Samuel. This overreliance on one scholarly opinion leads too hastily to the conclusion that 2 Sam 5:2 represents David's military and political career. As we have seen, 2 Sam 5:2b and the general uses of shepherding and the term דָּגַל/הָגוֹדֵם point to the ruler's responsibility to procure justice. This is of course political, but not militaristic nor perhaps political in the sense espoused by Willitts and Baxter. For reference see Willitts, *Matthew's Messianic Shepherd-King*, 56–57; Baxter, *Israel's Only Shepherd*, 44–45, 91, 135–36.

¹¹⁶ Auld, *1–II Samuel*, 430; Brueggemann, *First and Second Samuel*, 263; Bar-Efrat, *Zweite Buch Samuel*, 90. Efrat's note reads: "Die Hauptaufgabe des Königs ist es, für Recht und Gerechtigkeit einzutreten."

great mercy and righteousness (1 Sam 24:16–17; 25:33–34; 26:22–24; 2 Sam 9:1, 3, 7; 10:2), which the narrative utilizes as examples of a good ruler. The story of David sparing Saul's life leads Saul to declare David as righteous and therefore the natural king (1 Sam 24:16–21). The Abigail narrative shows the reader how YHWH's chosen ruler ought to administer power in restraint and submission to YHWH (1 Sam 25:23–34). In 2 Sam 9, David is highlighted as a merciful ruler acting kindly towards the house of Saul, but the Michal story seems to warn us that David may not live up to the Deuteronomistic ideal for YHWH's chosen ruler. This becomes particularly, and ironically, evident in 2 Sam 11 where David commits adultery and murder and where the "safe and traditional"¹¹⁷ image of David breaks. David's downward progression moves past the statement in 2 Sam 8:15 and culminates in a prophetic exhortation against the king using shepherd language (2 Sam 12:1–12).

2 Sam 12:1–12 is a fascinating confrontation between the prophet Nathan and King David. Nathan's confrontation indicates how rulers are supposed to act as shepherds of YHWH's people; they are subject to YHWH's law and morality and cannot abuse their position.¹¹⁸ The suzerain-vassal language clearly functions within a Deuteronomistic framework¹¹⁹ followed up with the charge against David who did what was evil in the eyes of YHWH (2 Sam 12:9). The shepherd language is also interesting in this pericope because it highlights the fact that YHWH had chosen David and called him out of his role as a literal shepherd to shepherd YHWH's flock figuratively. The pericope even has David ironically condemning himself as he furiously listens to Nathan's parable. The irony is hard-hitting and solidifies David's neglect of his royal duties.¹²⁰ David's failings in terms of just and righteous behavior in 2 Sam 12 continue in the Absalom revolt (2 Sam 15–20), which is caused by a lack of judgment regarding the rape of Tamar and results in numerous unjust killings and corruption within David's court.¹²¹ At the end of 2 Sam 20, David is in many ways portrayed as someone who "failed to establish justice and righteousness during his reign."¹²² The narrative itself indicates that the initial rule of justice and righteousness (2 Sam 8:15) did not continue.

¹¹⁷ Polzin, *2 Samuel*, 127.

¹¹⁸ Bar-Efrat, *Zweite Buch Samuel*, 114.

¹¹⁹ Polzin, *2 Samuel*, 127; Carlson, *David*, 157–9; Mettinger, *King and Messiah*, 29–30; Stefan Seiler, *Die Geschichte von der Thronfolge Davids (2 Sam 9–20; 1 Kön 1–2): Untersuchungen zur Literarkritik und Tendenz*, BZAW 267 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1998), 262.

¹²⁰ Virginia Miller, *A King and a Fool? The Succession Narrative as a Satire*, BINS 179 (Leiden: Brill, 2019), 70–72.

¹²¹ Smith, *The Fate of Justice and Righteousness During David's Reign*, 146–203.

¹²² *Ibid.*, 231.

However, in another episode couched in shepherd language (2 Sam 24:17), we find an interesting difference between the MT and LXX/OG as they describe David protecting the people (sheep) and asking YHWH to hold him accountable for his sins. Both texts say David is the one who has sinned and is guilty. However, the LXX/OG adds to this and writes that David is the shepherd (ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ ποιμήν; 2 Sam 25:17) and thus reinforces the shepherd-sheep metaphor at the end of 2 Samuel and almost becomes a redemptive element of David's story. Despite his immense failure, David ends up being a protective shepherd to his flock by interceding for the sheep and sacrificing offerings to YHWH (2 Sam 24:25).¹²³

4.5.1 *Conclusions Regarding David's Justice and Righteousness as Shepherd*

David's character in 1–2 Samuel is checkered, and it serves to highlight what YHWH's chosen ruler ought and ought not to do. Within the narrative itself, especially in 2 Sam 7–8, we find David's legacy. David has become a prototype of Deuteronomistic kingship, which will be refined in 1–2 Kings.¹²⁴ Justice is seen as essential in 1–2 Kings in Solomon's reign when we read that Solomon builds a Hall of Justice (1 Kgs 7:7). In 1–2 Samuel, David's Deuteronomistic royal qualities, or lack thereof, are highlighted in texts wherein he is called ἡγούμενος, or where he (mis)practices mercy and/or justice as one who shepherds.

Despite David's flaws, the promise made to him in 2 Sam 7 becomes programmatic in other biblical and extra-biblical interpretations of kingship and just/righteous shepherding.¹²⁵ While it is beyond the scope of this project, we must not forget the Deuteronomistic influences on the Psalms¹²⁶ and remember that several Psalms seem to pick up on the Davidic kingship, justice, righteousness, and the promise of a future Davidic ruler.¹²⁷ Indeed, the tradition of viewing David's kingship as righteous lives on well after the time of Jesus in the Aramaic targumic Psalms, especially Psalm 110:4, which notes David will

¹²³ Firth, *1–2 Samuel*, 547.

¹²⁴ Joseph, *Portrait of the Kings*, 75–105, 186, 225–37.

¹²⁵ Brueggeman, *First and Second Samuel*, 257; Schniedewind, *Promise to David*, 30; Joseph Blenkinsopp, *David Remembered: Kingship and National Identity in Ancient Israel* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2013), 60–61, 80–81.

¹²⁶ For reference see Grant, *King as Exemplar*, 291–94.

¹²⁷ Grant, *King as Exemplar*, 33–40. Despite scholarly disagreement regarding the dating of Psalm 89 and its literary relationship to 2 Sam 7, I find the argument that Psalm 89 reflects an interpretation of 2 Sam 7 most persuasive. For reference see Nahum M. Sarna, "Psalm 89: A Study in Innerbiblical Exegesis," in *Biblical and Other Studies*, ed. Alexander Altmann (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963), 29–46; Mettinger, *King and Messiah*, 173, 256; Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation*, 467–68.

continue to be a leader in the age to come because he was a righteous king.¹²⁸ The same often occurs in the Targums of 1–2 Samuel, which will be referenced later on. The portrayal of David as a righteous and just shepherd in 1–2 Samuel is thus part of the potential evocations of said texts in Matthew. However, it shall become interesting to systematically investigate the occurrences of 1–2 Samuel in Matthew precisely because David is not always glorified therein and because Matthew sometimes evokes passages from 1–2 Samuel in subversive or ironic ways. There is an advantage to narrative criticism since we can better contextualize the meaning and function of the term *ἡγούμενος* vis-à-vis shepherding and thus find a more precise use of the term in Matthew.

The memory of David as a just and righteous ruler in a land not occupied by foreign powers spawned the later eschatological hopes of a “ruler modeled on David” who brings justice to YHWH’s people and the world.¹²⁹ The question thus becomes how this Davidic shepherd-ruler tradition develops in the later biblical writings such as Jeremiah and Ezekiel, and also in various other texts during the Second Temple period prior to the Gospel of Matthew.

128 Timothy Edwards, *Exegesis in the Targum of The Psalms: The Old, the New, and the Rewritten*, GD 28 (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2007), 200.

129 Blenkinsopp, *David Remembered*, 116.

The Davidic Shepherd-Ruler in the Prophets, Extra-Canonical Writings, and Other Texts

5.1 Introduction

While it would be too wide-ranging to survey all texts that mention the hope of a new Davidic ruler, we can suitably investigate the texts that deal specifically with traditions found in 1–2 Samuel, and texts that highlight a Davidic shepherd-ruler who rules justly. By narrowing our scope in this manner, we are left with a more manageable dataset from which we may create a synthesis of the development of the traditions between the Testaments.

5.2 Shepherd-Ruler Imagery in the Prophets

Much secondary literature deals extensively with Davidic shepherd imagery in the prophets, especially how such prophetic texts are evoked by Matthew's portrayal of a shepherd-ruler.¹ However, it still behooves us to briefly survey the more pertinent shepherd language in the prophets, starting with the book of Jeremiah,² before we look at the Davidic shepherd-ruler imagery in Matthew.

Various English translations of Jeremiah 2:8 render the Hebrew and Greek words for “shepherds” (רְעִים/ποιμῆνες) as either “rulers” or “leaders” who transgress/rebel against YHWH, thus bringing about his judgment. Jeremiah 2:8 indicates that the word “shepherd” could function as a synonym for leader/ruler and reinforces the biblical shepherd-ruler metaphor. In Jeremiah 3:15, Israel is encouraged to return to YHWH after which he will appoint new shepherds after his own heart to rule the people properly. This choosing of a shepherd after his own heart is a motif already present in David's ascendancy in 1 Sam 13:14.

1 See Chae, *Jesus as the Eschatological Davidic Shepherd*; Ham, *The Coming King*; Piotrowski, *Matthew's New David*.

2 It is thus assumed that the later prophets could draw on most of the Davidic shepherd traditions found in 1–2 Samuel.

In Jeremiah 21–23, Israel's shepherd-rulers face critique for failing the people, falling short of justice, and generally leading in a foolish manner.³ However, YHWH will raise up a new Davidic king who, contrary to the previous shepherds, will rule wisely and justly (Jer 23:5). The text itself makes it likely that the useless shepherds are kings.⁴ It is unsurprising to find a majestic poem about a great ruler who will emerge from the line of David embedded in the shepherd language since YHWH promised David a permanent royal lineage (2 Sam 7:16). What is noteworthy in this part of Jeremiah is that the Davidic king rules righteously and that this righteous justice functions as the hallmark of a good shepherd-king.⁵

In the book of Ezekiel, especially in chapter 34, Davidic shepherd imagery is prominent.⁶ This chapter in Ezekiel deals with the implementation of YHWH's plans to restore Israel, for his glory to return, and for *shalom* to manifest.⁷ The beginning of chapter 34 portrays Israel in a dire state because of her shepherds' poor leadership (kings and other leaders).⁸ One of YHWH's charges against the shepherds is their apparent unjust rule, or poor governance, wherein they look to their own interests at the expense of the populace.⁹ As a result, YHWH declares that he will rescue his flock, administer justice,¹⁰ and appoint a Davidic shepherd-ruler to properly and justly lead and feed them. This rescuing and proper shepherding result in a covenant of *shalom* (Ezek 34:25). Interestingly, the Greek translation indicates that the covenant is made with David, rather than "them."¹¹ However, the reason for, and the result of, this new covenant remains the same: justice and well-being, which were formerly lacking and are now to be instituted and maintained.¹²

3 Laniak, *Shepherds After My Own Heart*, 135–36.

4 John Bright, *Jeremiah*, AB 21, 2nd ed. (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1981), 143; Jack R. Lundbom, *Jeremiah 21–36*, AB 21B (New York, NY: Doubleday, 2004), 167.

5 Bright notes how the "shepherds" likely allude to the kings of Jeremiah's lifetime. The point of the passage in its larger context (Jer 21:11–23:9) is to emphasize that "the Davidic monarchy has the obligation under God of establishing justice in society, specifically of defending the rights of the helpless as demanded in covenant law." See Bright, *Jeremiah*, 145.

6 Paul Beauchamp, "Pourquoi Parler de David comme d'un Vivant?", in *Figures de David à Travers la Bible*, eds. Louis Desrousseaux & Jacques Vermeylen, LD 177 (Paris: Cerf, 1999), 228–29, 234–35.

7 Chae, *Jesus as the Eschatological Davidic Shepherd*, 40–41.

8 Moshe Greenberg, *Ezekiel 21–37*, AB 22A (New York, NY: Doubleday, 1997), 694–95.

9 *Ibid.*, 696–97.

10 *Ibid.*, 701.

11 The Greek of Ezekiel 34:25 reads: καὶ διαθήσομαι τῷ Δαυὶδ διαθήκην εἰρήνης and the Hebrew reads: וְכָרַתִּי לְדָוִד בְּרִית שְׁלָוָם.

12 Laniak, *Shepherds After My Own Heart*, 155.

The sheep imagery of Ezekiel 34 is echoed again in 36:37–8 and 37:24–25 where the Davidic messiah is called a מִשְׁחָא/ἄρχων, which might indicate that he is subject to the suzerain, YHWH, much like the word מִשְׁחָא functions in 1–2 Samuel.¹³ It is the deference of the Davidic leader to YHWH that ensures the people's safety in the land.¹⁴ The Davidic shepherd in Ezekiel is thus a mediator of well-being,¹⁵ which means he is ultimately a mediator of YHWH's kingship¹⁶ rather than his own. Alicia Jackson argues that this Davidic shepherd-ruler (Ezek 37:24) rules over a people who have been resurrected from their past sins of violent bloodshed and idolatry (Ezek 36:16–21). Their new resurrected state is a subversive condemnation of their previous lives in an army (Ezek 37:10), as they now are meant to live a new life as a “peace corps” that makes peace with YHWH (Ezek 37:26) and surrounding nations under the leadership of the non-violent Davidic shepherd-ruler (Ezek 37–39).¹⁷

In Zechariah 9–14, one encounters metaphorical shepherd imagery, much like in Jeremiah and Ezekiel, which blames people's afflictions on the improper care of shepherds. The shepherd-ruler metaphor is used for foreign monarchs and is also employed to designate the future Davidic king who will ultimately be rejected. However, this future shepherd will “save the flock, bring them home, and deal with the flock righteously (cf. 9:9, 16; 10:6, 10).”¹⁸ In this manner, Zechariah joins the chorus of Jewish prophets who employ the shepherd-ruler metaphor and apply it to the future Davidic ruler.

The shepherd's primary task in several texts from the prophets, like in the comparable ANE literature, is to establish and maintain well-being, flourishing, and justice for the people.¹⁹ A passage like Ezekiel 34 further informs us that this kind of *shalom* can only exist when justice is administered properly.

13 Chae says the hope for the coming Davidic messiah is couched in shepherd language and that he will be an “under-shepherd.” For reference see Chae, *Jesus as the Eschatological Davidic Shepherd*, 31. Jon D. Levenson notes the term in Ezekiel might denote a return of the monarchy to be under the Sinai covenant thus rendering the Davidic shepherd without any power of his own. For reference see Jon D. Levenson, *Theology of the Program of Restoration of Ezekiel 40–48*, HSM 10 (Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1978), 69–88.

14 Alicia Jackson, “Ezekiel's Two Sticks and Eschatological Violence in the Pentecostal Tradition: An Intertextual Literary Analysis” (PhD diss., University of Birmingham, 2018), 262–63.

15 Greenberg, *Ezekiel*, 702.

16 Chae, *Jesus as the Eschatological Davidic Shepherd*, 42; Laniak, *Shepherds After My Own Heart*, 159.

17 Jackson, “Ezekiel's Two Sticks,” 272–81.

18 Anthony R. Petterson, *Behold Your King: The Hope for the House of David in the Book of Zechariah*, LHBOTS 513 (London: T&T Clark, 2009), 194.

19 Chae, *Jesus as the Eschatological Davidic Shepherd*, 20–23, 43, 61–65.

While the literature surveyed in this chapter is selective, I acknowledge that several other prophetic texts deal with shepherding and justice.²⁰ However, for brevity, these selections are enough to establish that the shepherd-ruler is meant to do justice. As noted, 1–2 Samuel exhibit a tradition highlighting justice and righteousness as the king's primary task.²¹ This tradition flows into the later prophetic literature that often mentions a future Davidic shepherd. The question then becomes how later Jewish literature engages this tradition. A suitable place to begin is in the Dead Sea Scrolls.

5.3 Dead Sea Scrolls and 1–2 Samuel

Several manuscripts and fragments from Qumran cave 4 contain parts of 1–2 Samuel, indicating their authoritative status within the community.²² Ariel Feldman's treatment of the reception of 1–2 Samuel in the Dead Sea Scrolls reveals that the stories of the monarchy, and particularly of David, still carried great weight from about 250 BCE to the late Herodian Period.²³ In fact, of all the biblical figures found in the scrolls, none appear as prominently as David who, according to Claude Coulot, "occupe une place particulière, et peut-être singulière, dans les manuscrits de la mer Morte."²⁴

Within the scrolls, 4QFlorilegium (4Q174) is a prime example of a group of Second Temple Jews reinterpreting the Davidic promise in 2 Sam 7:10.²⁵ Feldman further indicates several other texts from the period use Davidic motifs and themes from 1–2 Samuel in their own stories, such as battle motifs in 1 Maccabees, Hannah's song in Luke 1, *et cetera*.²⁶ Beyond a reasonable

20 See for example justice motifs in Isa 1:10–17; 1:27; 5:1–7; and larger segments like Isa 40–55 and 56–62. Common to all these texts is the notion of justice and righteousness. Brevard S. Childs, *Isaiah: A Commentary*, OTL (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox, 2001), 20–22, 46–48, 316–27, 382–86, 475–91, 517–25.

21 Bar-Efrat, *Zweite Buch Samuel*, 90.

22 For an overview of the 1–2 Samuel manuscripts and fragments, as well as insight into their value for text-critical purposes, see Eugene Ulrich, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Developmental Composition of the Bible* VTSup 169 (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 73–108.

23 Ariel Feldman, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Rewriting Samuel and Kings: Texts and Commentary*, BZAW 469 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2015), 4–15.

24 Claude Coulot, "David à Qumrân," in *Figures de David à Travers la Bible*, eds. Louis Desrousseaux and Jacques Vermeylen, LD 177 (Paris: Cerf, 1999), 315.

25 See George J. Brooke, *Exegesis at Qumran: 4Q Florilegium in its Jewish Context*, JSOTSup 29 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1985); Jonathan G. Campbell, *The Exegetical Texts*, CQS 4 (London: T&T Clark, 2004), 33–44.

26 Feldman, *Rewriting Samuel*, 12.

doubt, Feldman establishes that the texts of 1–2 Samuel were often alluded to in the Dead Sea Scrolls and other Second Temple Jewish texts. However, given the scope of using 1–2 Samuel and messianic themes in the scrolls, we will only deal with a few specific instances that deal with a Davidic Shepherd-ruler motif.²⁷

5.3.1 4QDamascus Documents: 4Q266–73

In the Damascus Document from cave 4, we find an interesting example of the shepherd metaphor. In 4Q267 fr. 9, iv. 4–5, we see that the leader loves, or has mercy upon,²⁸ his people and cares as a shepherd for those troubled or in distress. This fragment mirrors the Damascus Document from the Cairo Genizah, where the guardian of the group loves the people as a father and carries the distressed people like a shepherd carries his sheep (CD 13:9–10). Producing an idiomatic translation of CD 13:9–10 can be challenging, and Vermes' and García Martínez's standard English translations differ.²⁹ However, the leader exhibits a kind of mercy/love/compassion, and the shepherd metaphor indicates the leader's ability to care for, protect, and sustain his people.

5.3.2 11QPs^a

In 11QPs^a we find both canonical and non-canonical Hebrew Psalms telling of King David. In 11QPs^a 28.11, we hear of David's rise to power and of his status as a prince/ruler of the people (נגיד לעמו). 11QPs^a preserves some of the נגיד tradition, which is found pre-eminently within 1–2 Samuel and 1–2 Chronicles in the Jewish Scriptures. 11QPs^a has a strong Davidic focus and even ends (11QPs^a 27:1–5) with an allusion to 2 Sam 23:1–7.³⁰

Overall, 11QPs^a portrays David as an exemplary figure who seeks wisdom, knowledge, and righteousness. In this textual amalgam, it is unsurprising that David is presented as a sagacious exemplar who relies upon YHWH. David's epithet is, after all, נגיד. The Deuteronomistic ideal of the shepherding נגיד seems to have survived and developed well into Hasmonean times and still carries

27 For an overview of Davidic, and 1–2 Samuel texts, see Feldman, *Rewriting Samuel*, 5–8; and Coulot, "David à Qumrân," 315–17.

28 HALOT, s.v. "רחם."

29 Florentino García Martínez's translation reads: "heal all the strays like a shepherd his flock." For reference see; Florentino García Martínez, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Translated: The Qumran Texts in English*, 2nd ed., trans. Wilfred G.E. Watson (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 43; Geza Vermes' translation reads: "carry them in all their distress like a shepherd his sheep." For reference see Geza Vermes, *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English*, rev. ed. (London: Penguin Books, 2004), 36.

30 Teeter, "Torah, Wisdom, and the Composition of Rewritten Scripture: Jubilees and 11QPs^a in Comparative Perspective," 260.

the flavor of someone chosen by, and dependent upon, YHWH. Interestingly, the Psalm begins with David being appointed a literal shepherd of his father's flock and ending up as the נגיד of the people. The titles of shepherd and נגיד thus frame this part of 11QPs^a and reinforce the idea we found in 1–2 Samuel, where these concepts are literarily and conceptually connected.

5.3.3 4Q504 and 1Q34

In both 4Q504 and 1Q34, we see a clear combination of the theme of covenant and Davidic rule. However, the text-critical issues in 4Q504 and 1Q34 make substantial investigations difficult. The words דויד and נגיד are missing in 1Q34, and so one might see the new covenant and faithful shepherd in some sort of Mosaic light.³¹ 1Q34, a festival prayer that is stylistically linked to 4Q504,³² commemorates the raising up of a faithful/loyal shepherd (רועה נאמן). 4Q504 contains weekly prayers, one of which highlights YHWH's choosing David as the נגיד. The pertinent section of text reads כרעי נגיד על עמכה (4Q504 fr.2 iv, 7).³³ Despite the text-critical issues, both 4Q504 and 1Q34 likely retain a flavor of the shepherd-ruler metaphor, especially a Davidic one if 4Q504 alludes to 2 Sam 5:2.³⁴

5.3.4 4QSamuel^a (4Q51)

4Q51 is representative of the numerous fragments of 1–2 Samuel found at Qumran and indicates interpretive proclivities and readings different from the MT.³⁵ Interestingly, 4Q51 agrees with the LXX/OG in rendering the words “the shepherd” to David's address in 2 Sam 24:17. This means 4Q51 preserves the same tradition present in the LXX/OG where David, as a protective shepherd, seeks to spare his flock. The most pertinent aspect of 4Q51 is thus the continuation of the shepherd-ruler metaphor and David being commemorated as a shepherd.

31 Carey Newman, *Paul's Glory Christology: Tradition and Rhetoric*, NovTSup 69 (Leiden: Brill, 1992), 109; R. Steven Notley, “The Kingdom of Heaven Forcefully Advances,” in *The Interpretation of Scripture in Early Judaism and Christianity: Studies in Language and Tradition*, ed. Craig A. Evans, JSPSup 33 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000), 288–89.

32 Daniel K. Falk, “Liturgical Progression and the Experience of Transformation in Prayers from Qumran,” *DSD* 22 (2015): 267–84.

33 Maurice Baillet, *Qumran Grotte 4: III (4Q482–4Q520)*, DJD VII (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982), 143.

34 Schniedewind, *Society and the Promise to David*, 164.

35 Michael Segal, “Exegesis and Interpretation,” in *T&T Clark Companion to the Dead Sea Scrolls*, eds. George Brooke and Charlotte Hempel (London: T&T Clark, 2017), 387.

5.4 Books of Judith and Sirach/Ben Sira

Both these deuterocanonical texts reflect insights regarding the shepherd metaphor. In Judith, we find a narrative from the Hasmonean period³⁶ of a brave heroine who through piety and sword-yielding saves Israel (Jdt 13:7–8). She also says the Assyrian general, Holofernes, shall drive out Israel who is ὡς πρόβατα οἷς οὐκ ἔστιν ποιμήν (Jdt 11:19). While much of this work has argued the shepherd metaphor does not primarily carry military connotations, it must not be forgotten it still conveys militaristic elements in various contexts. This passage in Judith is a clear example. However, Holofernes is not referred to as a ἡγούμενος, but rather with the apt military title of ἀρχιστράτηγος (Jdt 2:4).

Sirach 18:13 shows how YHWH, the merciful shepherd, judges, disciplines, and teaches his flock. Sirach portrays YHWH as just and merciful towards all flesh³⁷ and offers a suitable parallel to Ps 23³⁸ as well as Matt 5:44–48. It seems likely that YHWH's role as a reproving, disciplining, and teaching shepherd is to be imitated by humankind (Sir 18:13a), including those he chooses to rule over his people. Sirach thus reinforces the idea of a shepherd-ruler who is not primarily conceived of in militaristic terms but rather in terms of mercy via acts of discipline, proper judgment, and teaching.

Ben Sira indicates YHWH alone is just and impartial, yet also compassionate and merciful (Sir 2:11; 18:1, 5; 35:15, 22). These divine qualities of justice and mercy are expected to be present in the human king also.³⁹ Ben Sira's position on kingship accepts the Deuteronomistic view, noting only three kings were just: David, Hezekiah, and Josiah (Sir 49:4).⁴⁰ Interestingly, Ben Sira 9:17b mentions the wise ἡγούμενος, thereby further highlighting the fact that a wise leader creates a good society. In contrast, a poor leader ruins the people

36 Toni Crave, "The Book of Judith in the Context of Twentieth-Century Studies of the Apocryphal/Deuterocanonical Book," *CBR* 1 (2003): 187–229; Carey A. Moore, *Judith*, AB 40 (New York, NY: Doubleday, 1985), 67.

37 Friedrich Vincenz Reiterer, "The Interpretation of the Wisdom Tradition of the Torah within Ben Sira" in *The Wisdom of Ben Sira: Studies on Tradition, Redaction, and Theology*, eds. Angelo Passaro and Giuseppe Bellia; DCLS 1 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2008), 214; Greg Schmidt Goering, *Wisdom's Root Revealed: Ben Sira and the Election of Israel*, JSJSup 139 (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 84.

38 Benjamin Wright, "Wisdom of Ben Sira" in *Outside the Bible: Ancient Jewish Writings Related to Scripture*, 3 vols., eds. Louis H. Feldman, James L. Kugel and Lawrence H. Schiffman (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press/Jewish Publication Society, 2013), 3:2257.

39 Benjamin Wright, "Ben Sira on Kings and Kingship," in *Jewish Perspectives on Hellenistic Rulers*, eds. Tessa Rajak, et al., HCS 50 (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2007), 79.

40 Wright, "Ben Sira on Kings and Kingship," 80.

(Sir 9:1–10:3). In other words, the wisdom of the sage/philosopher is what enables him to be a ἡγούμενος of the people.⁴¹ For Ben Sira, proper human rule thus seems linked to the ἡγούμενος who ought to reflect YHWH's attributes of mercy, justice, and wisdom.

5.5 1 Maccabees

1 Maccabees 2:49–60 records Mattathias' last words to his sons. These words are an exhortation to live like their forefathers who were zealous for the law. Mattathias lists several of these forefathers, including David, who is described as receiving the throne because of his mercy (Δαυιδ ἐν τῷ ἐλέει αὐτοῦ ἐκληρονόμησεν θρόνον βασιλείας εἰς αἰῶνας; 1 Mac 2:57). Noticeably, David is here remembered for his piety and mercy rather than his military exploits.⁴² It is as if the authors commemorate David's rule as one of mercy and justice (2 Sam 8:15) because they too wish to be seen in a compassionate and just light. Some scholars find “mercy” to be a troublesome translation of ἔλεος because it seems without referent,⁴³ preferring a translation of ἔλεος as “piety” or “loyalty” because ἔλεος likely conveys the Hebrew רַחֲמִים.⁴⁴ However, mercy seems to be a stable element in the semantic range of רַחֲמִים.⁴⁵

5.6 1 Enoch (The Dream Visions/Book of Dreams)

1 Enoch 89–90 form the latter part of what scholars call the “animal apocalypse,” and we find several animal metaphors and typologies in these chapters. For our purposes, sheep and shepherds are essential, and chapters 89–90 use the shepherd-ruler motif in a manner analogous to what we have already encountered in Ezek 34.⁴⁶

41 Patrick Skehan, *The Wisdom of Ben Sira*, AB 39 (New York, NY: Doubleday, 1987), 223.

42 Thomas Hieke, “The Role of Scripture in the last words of Mattathias (1 Macc 2:49–70),” in *The Books of the Maccabees: History, Theology, Ideology – Papers of the Second International Conference on Deuterocanonical Books, Pápa, Hungary, 9–11 June, 2005*, eds. Géza G. Xeravits & József Zsengellér, JSJSup 118 (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 69.

43 Pancratius C. Beentjes, “Portrayals of David in Deuterocanonical and Cognate Literature,” in *Deuterocanonical and Cognate Literature Yearbook 2008: Biblical Figures in Deuterocanonical and Cognate Literature*, eds. Hermann Lichtenberger & Ulrike Mittmann-Richert (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2009), 174.

44 Ibid., 174.

45 HALOT, s.v. “רַחֲמִים” § 2.

46 Patrick A. Tiller, “Israel at the Mercy of Demonic Powers: An Enochic Interpretation of Postexilic Imperialism,” in *Conflicted Boundaries in Wisdom and Apocalypticism*, eds. Benjamin G. Wright III and Lawrence M. Wills, SymS 35 (Atlanta: SBL, 2005), 117.

In 1 En. 89:41–47, we encounter an abbreviated retelling of Saul and David narratives from 1 Samuel,⁴⁷ which shows Samuel's anointing of David (καὶ ἡγείρεν αὐτὸν εἰς κριὸν καὶ εἰς ἄρχοντα καὶ εἰς ἡγούμενον τῶν προβάτων; 1 En. 89:46).⁴⁸ It is noteworthy that the Greek version retains the ἡγούμενος language, which is combined with κριός (ram) and ἄρχων (ruler). Considering David is called by all three titles in this passage, it is hard to determine which is related to the military victories retold in 1 En. 89:48–49. While the Greek text is missing, Nickelsburg, Black, and Isaac all reconstruct the text to read “that ram” killed the enemies of the sheep.⁴⁹ It thus seems κριός is the term most closely associated with military action in this part of 1 Enoch.

Later in 1 En. 89:59–90:20, we read of 70 appointed shepherds who shepherd poorly. The seventy negligent and disobedient shepherds allude to Ezek 34 and Zech 11. Although most scholars view these shepherds as angelic beings rather than human leaders,⁵⁰ I find Miryam T. Brand's words persuasive in that “it is nevertheless at least equally likely that the shepherds are the treacherous leaders of Israel.”⁵¹ Regardless of whether the shepherds refer to angelic or human rulers, the shepherd-ruler metaphor is still at work, and the shepherds are condemned for disobeying YHWH's commands and destroying too many of the sheep (1 En. 89:61–64). Similar to the shepherds in Ezek 34:8 and Zech 11, foreign leaders have severely oppressed the people in 1 En. 89, and instead of nurturing and caring for the flock, the 70 shepherds have allowed the people to become oppressed and defeated beyond what YHWH allowed.⁵²

5.7 Psalms of Solomon

The psalm/poem particularly pertinent to this study is Psalm 17, a thoroughly messianic text wherein the promised messiah is called “son of David” (υἱὸν

47 For details see George W.E. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1: A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch, Chapters 1–36; 81–108*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 2001), 382–83.

48 The Greek text is taken from Matthew Black, ed., “Apocalypsis Henochi Graece” in, *Fragmenta Pseudepigraphorum quae supersunt Graeca*, ed. E.M. Denis, PVTG 3 (Leiden: Brill, 1970).

49 Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 366; Matthew Black, *The Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch. A New English Edition with Commentary and Textual Notes*, SVTP 7 (Leiden: Brill, 1985), 77; OTP 1:67.

50 Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 391; Black, *1 Enoch*, 270–72.

51 Miryam T. Brand, “1 Enoch,” in *Outside the Bible: Ancient Jewish Writings Related to Scripture*, 3 vols., eds. Louis H. Feldman, James L. Kugel and Lawrence H. Schiffman (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press/Jewish Publication Society, 2013), 2:1424.

52 Tiller, “An Enochic Interpretation of Postexilic Imperialism,” 120.

Δαυίδ; Pss. Sol. 17:21).⁵³ This future “son of David” is to be a righteous king who upholds justice (Pss. Sol. 17:32), and who seems to be the ideal Deuteronomistic king in that he will not rely on military strength or wealth (Pss. Sol. 17:33).⁵⁴ This messianic king is hailed because the LORD is his king (κύριος αὐτὸς βασιλεὺς αὐτοῦ; Pss. Sol. 17:34), and because he himself is without sin (Pss. Sol. 17:36). This future ruler is said to shepherd the people in faithfulness and righteousness (ποιμαίνων τὸ ποίμνιον κυρίου ἐν πίστει καὶ δικαιοσύνῃ), and he provides equity (ἰσότης) for the people assuring no one is oppressed (Pss. Sol. 17:40–41).

While some scholars contend the messianic king in Psalms of Solomon 17 is portrayed as a warrior,⁵⁵ others view him as a non-militaristic figure.⁵⁶ In either case, we must note he defeats his enemies by the word of his mouth (λόγῳ [τοῦ] στόματος αὐτοῦ; Pss. Sol. 17:24, 35–36), which means we may agree with Willitts in that the Psalm is not a call to arms.⁵⁷ Luise Schottroff notes “Alle diese Machttaten wird dieser König ohne militärische Mittle, ohne Waffen und Geld für die Finanzierung eines Krieges bewältigen – allein in der Hoffnung auf Gott.”⁵⁸ While the messiah liberates Israel, we must pay attention to how this is done. The future king is said to be sinless, just, and righteous. He conquers by his words. While the language is militaristic, and the future king is portrayed as a kind of warrior, we must ask what kind of warrior he is. Unlike the Hasmonean and Roman rulers⁵⁹ who rely on their own military strength, this Davidic messiah trusts in YHWH (Pss. Sol. 17:33–39).⁶⁰

53 Robert B. Wright, *The Psalms of Solomon: A Critical Edition of the Greek Text*, Jewish and Christian Texts and Contexts and Related Studies 1 (London: T&T Clark, 2007), 1.

54 These characteristics clearly mirror Deut 17:16–17. For further Deuteronomistic traits in Psalms of Solomon see Rodney A. Werline, “The Psalms of Solomon and the Ideology of Rule” in *Conflicted Boundaries in Wisdom and Apocalypticism*, eds. Benjamin G Wright III and Lawrence M. Wills, SymS 35 (Atlanta: SBL, 2005), 72–74.

55 Kenneth Atkinson, “On the Herodian Origin of Militant Davidic Messianism at Qumran: New Light from Psalm of Solomon 17,” *JBL* 118 (1999): 435–60; John J. Collins, *The Scepter and the Star: Messianism in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2010), 59; Baxter, *Israel's Only Shepherd*, 75, 84.

56 Robert B. Wright, “Psalms of Solomon” in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, 2 vols., ed. James Charlesworth (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1985), 2:645; James Charlesworth, “From Messianology to Christology: Problems and Prospects,” in *The Messiah: Developments in Earliest Judaism and Christianity*, eds. J. Charlesworth, M.T. Davis, J. Kraftchick and A.F. Segal (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 1992), 20; Zacharias, *Matthew's Presentation of the Son of David*, 24.

57 Willitts, *Matthew's Messianic Shepherd-King*, 92.

58 Luise Schottroff, *Der Anfang des Neuen Testaments: Matthäus 1–4 neu entdeckt Ein Kommentar mit Beiträgen zum Gespräch*, eds. Frank Crüsemann, Claudia Janssen and Rainer Kessler (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2019), 32.

59 Indeed, the messianic figure is meant to be a righteous anti-type to the Herodian rulers. See Atkinson, “Davidic Messianism,” 435.

60 Atkinson, “Davidic Messianism,” 445.

We cannot ignore the militaristic language (Pss. Sol. 17:23–24), nor deny that the imagery found in this text is that of a militant messiah. However, we should also remember this Davidic messiah “resembles the king in Zech 9:9–10 who comes to Jerusalem riding humbly on an ass and bringing peace, cutting off the chariot, the warhorse, and the battle bow.”⁶¹ In all this, it seems quite evident that it is YHWH who provides the military victory (Pss. Sol. 17:21–22), and that his pure and righteous vessel is tasked with leading the nation in righteousness and justice (Pss. Sol. 17:26–27).⁶² Shepherding is thus primarily tied to procuring equality, fairness, and justice for the people/sheep (Pss. Sol. 17:40–41),⁶³ which is a reversal of how previous shepherds ruled (Pss. Sol. 17:19–20).

Noticeably, Psalms of Solomon 17:4 alludes to the promise to David in 2 Sam 7, indicating views of kingship and kingdom (often of Deuteronomistic nature) derived from 1–2 Samuel are alive and well in this period. While the Psalms of Solomon and the other texts surveyed so far have been from the second and first century BCE, the following texts will all be more contemporary with Matthew and dated somewhere in the first or second century CE.

5.8 2 Baruch and 4 Ezra

2 Baruch has a strong emphasis on messianism and judgment, and the promised messiah is conceived of as a strong military figure (2 Bar. 39:7–8; 72:2).⁶⁴ In 2 Baruch 77:13–16 we encounter a segment of text in which the people lament the lack of shepherds. As a result of lack of leadership, the people are left in darkness (2 Bar. 77:14), and Baruch answers the peoples’ lament and says true leaders come from the law (2 Bar. 77:15). Clearly, the shepherd is meant to lead in accordance with the law. The text also notes that righteous kingship is rooted in Davidic traditions and that righteous behavior and law observance is a hallmark of true kingship and necessary for the land to be considered holy (2 Bar. 61:1–8; 66:1–8). 2 Baruch still retains a sense of the shepherd-ruler metaphor, emphasizing that true leadership is tied to righteous understanding and application of the law.⁶⁵

61 Werline, “*Psalms of Solomon*,” 80.

62 Willitts, *Matthew’s Messianic Shepherd-King*, 83.

63 Ibid., 82.

64 Adam H. Becker, “2 Baruch,” in *Outside the Bible: Ancient Jewish Writings Related to Scripture*, 3 vols., eds. Louis H. Feldman, James L. Kugel and Lawrence H. Schiffman (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press/Jewish Publication Society, 2013), 2:1566.

65 John J. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination: An Introduction to Jewish Apocalyptic Literature*, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1998), 222.

4 Ezra is contemporaneous with 2 Baruch and closely related to it in terms of genre and content.⁶⁶ Both texts reflect Deuteronomistic concerns and exhibit various Pharisaic elements.⁶⁷ In chapter 5, Ezra has angelic visions of the future. As he wakes up from his vision a chief of the people, Phaltiel, urges him not to abandon Israel like “a shepherd who leaves the flock in the power of savage wolves” (4 Ezra 5:18). The shepherd-ruler metaphor is applied to Ezra as the leader of the people. This text thus indicates that the metaphor from ANE texts and the Old Testament is alive and well in the late first century CE. These two Jewish texts link matters of righteous and just leadership with the shepherd metaphor much like Matthew does, and we should pay special attention to them as they seem to share several traits with New Testament texts and serve as important thematic interlocutors.⁶⁸

5.9 Philo (*Legatio ad Gaium/De Iosepho/De Vita Mosis*)

In Philo’s *Legatio ad Gaium* we find an instance of Gaius being referred to as a ruler (ἡγεμὼν) and a shepherd (*Legat.* 44). The text shows the Roman emperor is likened to a shepherd and a master of a herd. The next segment of the text shows how Gaius Caligula uses the shepherd-ruler metaphor when he says that just as herders of animals, including shepherds, are different from their flock so is he different from his human subjects because he is divine (*Legat.* 76).

In Philo’s *bios* of Joseph, he lists three main areas that produce excellence: learning, nature, and practice (*Ios.* 1). He then notes kings are often called shepherds of people/ποιμένας λαῶν (*Ios.* 2) because the travails of shepherding are the best training/practice for generalship (*Ios.* 4). Philo here links shepherding to military activity, yet the care of the flock is also in view.

In his treatment of Moses’s life, Philo again draws on the rich imagery of the shepherd-ruler. Philo goes on to say the perfect king is one who has had training as a shepherd, for one must have experience managing the inferior before one can move to the greater (*Mos.* 1:61–62). Philo compares three

66 Karina Martin Hogan, “4 Ezra” in *Outside the Bible: Ancient Jewish Writings Related to Scripture*, 3 vols., eds. Louis H. Feldman, James L. Kugel and Lawrence H. Schiffman (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press/Jewish Publication Society, 2013), 2:1608; Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination*, 221–24.

67 Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination*, 211.

68 Rivka Nir, *The Destruction of Jerusalem and the Idea of Redemption in the Syriac Apocalypse of Baruch*, SBLJL 20 (Atlanta, GA: SBL, 2003), 3–15; Matthias Henze, *Mind the Gap: How the Jewish Writings between the Old and New Testament Help Us Understand Jesus* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 2017), 47–48, 172–78.

leaders, Gaius, Joseph, and Moses. All three are compared to shepherds, yet Moses receives the highest accolades and is said to be the called god and king (θεὸς καὶ βασιλεύς; *Mos.* 1158). Moses receives these honors because he, unlike Gaius, conveyed the divine law, whereas Gaius claimed he was the divine law and thus answered to no one.⁶⁹

While Philo uses shepherd-ruler imagery, it becomes more challenging to determine whether he uses imagery from 1–2 Samuel. Philo alludes to 1 Sam 1–2 on various occasions,⁷⁰ including the anointing of Saul in 1 Sam 9 (*Migr.* 38). David is also mentioned in one of Philo's writings (*Conf.* 149), which proves the narratives of 1–2 Samuel were used and known in Egypt in the first century CE.

5.10 Josephus

Josephus' books 5–10 within *Antiquities* cover his rewriting and synthesizing of 1–2 Samuel, 1–2 Kings, and portions of 1 Chronicles.⁷¹ Whereas the LXX/OG shows a lexical unease with the monarchy qua Saul's anointing as ἡ βασιλεία (1 Sam 9:16) in response to the people's wish for a king (ἡ βασιλεία), Josephus' account straightforwardly links the people's wish for a king (*Ant.* 6.4.1) with Saul's appointment as such (*Ant.* 6.4.2). We may note that Josephus retains some of the nuances of the ἡ βασιλεία in that he says the king is still chosen by YHWH (*Ant.* 6.4.2, 6.4.4, 6.4.6), but he nonetheless avoids the lexical issues of the biblical texts. In fact, Josephus seems to rewrite and smooth out several perplexing episodes in 1–2 Samuel.⁷² While Josephus may portray Saul slightly more favorably than the MT and LXX/OG,⁷³ it seems reasonable to agree with Michael Avioz in that he nevertheless casts Saul as a character not to be emulated and who does not quite possess the virtues associated with ideal kingship such as wisdom, temperance, and justice.⁷⁴ Josephus' rewriting further omits any

69 Peder Borgen, *Philo of Alexandria: An Exegete for His Time* (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 204–5.

70 *Deus* 5–15; *Ebr.* 143–152; *Mut.* 143–144; *Somn.* 254. For detailed reference see Naomi Cohen, *Philo's Scriptures: Citations from the Prophets and Writings*, JSJSup 123 (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 112–29.

71 Étienne Nodet, "Josephus and the Books of Samuel" in *Studies in Josephus and Varieties of Ancient Judaism: Louis H. Feldman Jubilee Volume*, eds. Shaye Cohen and Joshua J. Schwartz, AGJU/AJEC 67 (Leiden, Brill: 2007), 141; Avioz, *Josephus' Interpretation*, 14–15.

72 Avioz, *Josephus' Interpretation*, 35. Louis H. Feldman, *Josephus' Interpretation of the Bible*, HCS 27 (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1998), 505.

73 Feldman, *Josephus' Interpretation*, 525–26.

74 Avioz, *Josephus' Interpretation*, 39, 56.

talk of a lasting dynasty and YHWH having chosen someone else to rule (*Ant.* 6.104), perhaps to downplay messianism.⁷⁵

5.10.1 *David in Josephus*

David's anointing in 1 Sam 16:7 shows that YHWH does not care about outer appearance but rather looks at a person's heart. In his rewriting, Josephus elaborates on this notion and adds that a king's true virtues are piety, justice, courage, and obedience (*Ant.* 6.8.1). Even though this is Josephus' opinion, we should not dismiss these virtues as unbiblical or irrelevant given the larger context of 1–2 Samuel and 1–2 Kings. Clearly, Josephus belongs to a tradition that upholds the biblical ideal of a king's virtues, such as justice, piety, and obedience.

In Josephus' rewriting of 1–2 Samuel, Abigail's speech is redacted.⁷⁶ She does not mention David's lasting house/dynasty (1 Sam 25:28), nor that David is YHWH's chosen *ἡγούμενος* (1 Sam 25:30). Rather, Josephus' treatment merely states David should show benevolence and clemency because he is about to reign as king *μέλλοντι βασιλεύειν* (*Ant.* 6.13.7). The biblical motifs of reward for the pious and calamity for the wicked and the importance of the king's righteousness are thus maintained.⁷⁷

When David is anointed king of the northern tribes in 2 Sam 5, Josephus omits the biblical account that David was the chosen *ἡγούμενος* meant to shepherd Israel. The reason for this omission could be because Josephus wants to avoid the element of the favor of YHWH on the Davidic dynasty and the symbolic nature of shepherds in relation to kingship within Jewish and Greek literature.⁷⁸

In the story of David's rebuttal of Michal, Josephus adds the redactional elements from 1 Chronicles to the story found in 2 Sam 6, thus positively portraying David as consulting with the people.⁷⁹ As Michal scoffs at David's dancing, the biblical texts use the words *ἡγούμενος* (2 Sam 6:21) of David and his choosing by YHWH over Saul to lead his people. This nuance is redacted in Josephus, who does not call David anything but *βασιλεύς* (*Ant.* 7.87).

In Josephus' rendition of Nathan's oracle, it is David himself who realizes YHWH has given him all his power and glory (*Ant.* 7.4.4). In contrast, the biblical account considers these words to be from YHWH delivered by Nathan

⁷⁵ Avioz, *Josephus' Interpretation*, 36.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 88–90.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 92.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 101.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 106.

(2 Sam 7:6–8). Josephus may avoid specific biblical wording in 2 Sam 7:8–11 to downplay the themes of covenant and messianism,⁸⁰ which might also be why he avoids giving David's ancestry, unlike the author of the Gospel of Matthew.⁸¹ It seems reasonable to assume Josephus' redaction of the biblical language of covenant, enduring house/dynasty, and messiah reflects the time after the Jewish War and a wish not to incite rebellion.⁸² In fact, Josephus' overall picture of David is one of limited violence and highlights the tradition of David's righteousness. Josephus never shies away from this trait, and even in his rewriting of 2 Sam 8:15 notes David was δίκαιος τὴν φύσιν καὶ τὰς κρίσεις πρὸς τὴν ἀλήθειαν (*Ant.* 7.5.4). Even at the end of David's reign, Josephus retains the biblical language of justice in 2 Sam 24:17 as he says it is David, the shepherd, and not the sheep who ought to be punished (*Ant.* 7.13.3). Thus, Josephus' portrayal of David matches well with scriptural traditions of David as well as other Hellenistic views of kingship, both Gentile and Jewish, and to these we shall now turn briefly.

5.11 Various Other Hellenistic Views on Shepherd Language and Kingship

While it is beyond the scope of this project to include all instances of shepherd language in the Hellenistic world, it behooves us to briefly mention the language we have already encountered in the Dead Sea Scrolls, Jewish Scriptures, Pseudepigrapha, Philo, and Josephus is also found in other writings reaching as far back as Homer's narratives. In the *Iliad*, Agamemnon is described as ποιμένα λαῶν (*Il.* 11:187), and one encounters several similar instances in the *Odyssey* where various kings, rulers/leaders, or generals are symbolically described as shepherds (*Od.* 3:156; 3:469; 4:24; 4:296; 4:528; 14:497; 15:151; 17:109; 20:106; 24:368; 24:456), a label which according to Aristotle signifies the need to act justly and take care of the welfare of the people (*Eth. nic.* 8:1–2).

The first century CE Greek philosopher and historian, Dio Chrysostom, agrees with Homer that kings, as shepherds and guides of the people, ought to be concerned with the welfare of their subjects (1 *Regn.* 12–14). Chrysostom writes that Alexander the Great preferred Homer's *Iliad* above other stories

80 Kenneth Pomykala, *The Davidic Dynasty Tradition in Early Judaism: Its History and Significance for Messianism* (Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1995), 224–26.

81 Louis Feldman, "Josephus' Portrait of David," *HUCA* 60 (1989): 135.

82 Feldman, *Josephus's Interpretation*, 152.

because it showed the character of a true and noble king who was called a “shepherd of the people” ποιμένα λαῶν (2 *Regn.* 6), and such a shepherd must look to the prosperity of his people (3 *Regn.* 39–41). Chrysostom comments on the merciless and brutal onslaught on Greece by Xerxes and Darius, and notes a true shepherd oversees and protects his sheep rather than leading them to slaughter like a tyrant (4 *Regn.* 44–45). The king’s role as a shepherd is a notable distancing from war and violence. These Hellenistic perspectives on kingship likewise view the king as a paragon of virtue, someone who is just and able to lead the people to be virtuous themselves. The king’s duty is to benefit the subjects and to guarantee their safety.⁸³

5.12 Conclusions

While the shepherd-ruler metaphor in the Second Temple period writings does not yield a consistent image because some texts, such as Psalms of Solomon and 2 Baruch, highlight a more militaristic ruler, the metaphor still emphasizes the shepherd’s main task is to manage or oversee the welfare of the flock (populace). Even when militaristic elements are involved, the shepherd must rely on the power and council of YHWH for victory. Both in Psalms of Solomon, 2 Baruch, and Sirach, the human shepherd is meant to rule the way YHWH rules, with justice and mercy towards his sheep. In this way, these apocryphal, deuterocanonical, and pseudepigraphal texts share a strong thematic resemblance with the shepherd texts from the Jewish Scriptures.

While Josephus portrays David as a just monarch, his redactions of 1–2 Samuel, and especially the consistent redaction of the words ποιμήν/ηγούμενος and shepherd(ing), lead one to assume that those words primarily make sense within a thoroughly Jewish matrix since they conjure up deep biblical themes of proper and just kingship, covenant, messianism, and perhaps even Jewish nationalism and theocracy. Overall, Josephus’ David is still a king of justice and prudence who cares for the welfare of his people, a notion of kingship that is similarly attested to in the writings of Dio Chrysostom.

This chapter has demonstrated that the biblical traditions about David in 1–2 Samuel were functioning in literary contexts in the first century BCE/CE and that shepherd language is most often associated with a ruler’s obligation to protect, prosper, and ensure justice for the populace. In addition, the

83 Oswyn Murray, “Philosophy and Monarchy in the Hellenistic World,” in *Jewish Perspectives on Hellenistic Rulers*, eds. Tessa Rajak, et al., HCS 50 (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2007), 24–25.

Davidic tradition from 1–2 Samuel seems evident in the New Testament outside of the Gospels. Hebrews 11:32–33 mentions David's just rule, and Romans and Galatians likewise seem to retain traditions about Davidic motifs from 1–2 Samuel in their treatment of adoption and messianic hopes.⁸⁴

The evidence from the previous chapters indicates the existence of an ancient and broad tradition across the Ancient Near East and Mediterranean wherein the ruler as a "shepherd" denotes a ruler with a great sense of care for the people. The prevalent image from the texts is that of a caring shepherd. Such care results in protecting the populace and ensuring justice in the land. However, the evidence also shows the shepherd imagery occasionally carrying militaristic overtones. The evidence also suggests the stories of David in 1–2 Samuel were remembered and reflected upon. We shall now turn to if and how the Gospel of Matthew follows these texts in taking up the stories and traditions of 1–2 Samuel, and particularly David as a shepherd ruler.

84 Erin M. Heim, *Adoption in Galatians and Romans: Contemporary Metaphor Theories and the Pauline Huiiothesia Metaphors*, BINS 153 (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 129–34, 258–80; Esau McCaulley, *Sharing the Son's Inheritance: Davidic Messianism and Paul's Worldwide Interpretation of the Abrahamic Land Promise in Galatians*, LNTS 608 (London: T&T Clark, 2019), 144–59.

1–2 Samuel in Matthew 1–4

6.1 Introduction: Incipit and Genealogy

Much can be said about Matthew's genealogy and its function within the Gospel. However, for the sake of brevity and clarity regarding the aims of my work, I shall focus mainly on elements that relate to 1–2 Samuel and David vis-à-vis the motif of righteousness. Matthew's Jewish Gospel highlights Jesus as a son of David,¹ a notion which becomes evident if we consider Matthew as rewriting parts of Mark's Gospel, especially the incipit. Matthew shifts the focus from Mark's incipit Ἀρχὴ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ [υἱοῦ θεοῦ] (Mark 1:1)² to Βίβλος γενέσεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ υἱοῦ Δαυὶδ (Matt 1:1). As mentioned, this initial emphasis on Jesus as a son of David in the incipit calls the reader's attention to the stories of David in 1–2 Samuel.³

In addition to the incipit, Matthew's genealogy emphasizes Jesus' Davidic heritage.⁴ John Mark Jones notes the genealogy "gives primary attention to the relationship between Jesus and David."⁵ In fact, one cannot avoid the genealogy's emphasis on David and the sometimes debated use of gematria where David's name in Hebrew, דָּוִד, has the numerical value of 14, which is the number of generations emphasized in the genealogy (Matt 1:17). Roland Deines

- 1 J.D. Kingsbury, "The Title 'Son of David' in Matthew's Gospel," *JBL* 95 (1976): 591–602; Donald J. Verseput, "The Davidic Messiah and Matthew's Jewish Christianity," *SBLSP* 34 (1995): 102–16; Lidija Novakovic, "Jesus as the Davidic Messiah in Matthew," *HBT* 19 (1997): 148–91; Evans, *Matthew*, 32; Konradt, *Israel, Kirche und die Völker*, 1–16, 393–405; Charles E. Carlston and Craig A. Evans, *From Synagogue to Ekklesia: Matthew's Community at the Crossroads*, WUNT 334 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014), 13–14.
- 2 υἱοῦ θεοῦ appears to be the most likely original reading of Mark 1:1. For reference see Tommy Wasserman, "The Son of God was in the Beginning (Mark 1:1)," *JTS* 62 (2011): 20–50; Tommy Wasserman, "Historical and Philological Correlations and the CBGM as Applied to Mark 1:1," *TC* 20 (2015), <http://purl.org/tc/v20/TC-2015-CBGM-Wasserman.pdf>.
- 3 Donald Juel notes the term "son of David" likely worked as "a shorthand substitution for the actual citation of a passage like 2 Sam 7:12–14." For reference see Donald Juel, *Messianic Exegesis: Christological Interpretation of the Old Testament in Early Christianity* (Philadelphia, PA: Fortress, 1988), 143. Jacques Cazeaux notes that the term son of David in Matt 1:1 "obligerait en principe le lecteur à un vaste parcours incluant depuis les livres de Samuel jusqu'aux livres de Chronique." For reference see Cazeaux, *Matthieu*, 26.
- 4 Brown, *Birth of the Messiah*, 46; Harrington, *Matthew*, 34–36; Hagner, *Matthew 1–13*, 10; Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 1:187.
- 5 Jones, "Matthew's Presentation of the Genealogy and the Davidic Title," 267.

suggests this emphasis on 14 makes David the key figure in the genealogy⁶ and thus an essential character in the Gospel.

From a narrative perspective, Matthew's incipit and genealogy constitute what literary critics call "antetext," a term covering aspects such as a title and other "prefatory and framing material that circumscribes the narrative proper."⁷ Matthew's incipit and genealogy fit these criteria. The story seems to commence properly later when Mary learns she is pregnant, which begins a sequence of other events related to the story's main characters and plot. The question then becomes what Matthew's emphasis on David in the antetext means for the ideal reader.

In addition to an initial focus on David, the women of the genealogy may also leave clues for the ideal reader regarding the aims of the Gospel.⁸ At least it seems the women of the genealogy conjure up the motif of righteousness, a theme often associated with David in 1-2 Samuel. Much like Tamar appears to disrupt the flow of the Joseph story in Genesis, so Tamar interrupts the monotony of male progenitors as the first woman in Matthew's genealogy. However, just like in Genesis, Tamar's presence is not accidental. In fact, she appears to teach the readers a valuable lesson of irony and how Judah ultimately reaps what he sows in terms of deception.⁹ The women in Matthew's genealogy, Tamar, Rahab, Ruth, the wife of Uriah, and Mary, have all been interpreted in various ways, often in relation to their supposed status as gentiles, sinners, etc.¹⁰ However, all of these interpretive frameworks present difficulties,¹¹ including the fact that Tamar and Bathsheba were both considered Hebrews and that if one is looking for sinners, then the males of the genealogy provide better examples.¹² Janice Capel Anderson suggests the women in

6 Roland Deines, *Die Gerechtigkeit der Tora im Reich des Messias: Mt 5,13-20 als Schlüsseltext der matthäischen Theologie*, WUNT 177 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004), 470.

7 Brian Richardson, "A Theory of Narrative Beginnings and the Beginnings of 'The Dead' and *Molly*," in *Narrative Beginnings: Theories and Practices*, ed. Brian Richardson (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2008), 113.

8 Janice Capel Anderson, *Matthew's Narrative Web: Over, and Over, and Over Again*, JSNTSup 91 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994), 49-52.

9 Robert Alter, *The Art of Biblical Narrative*, rev. and updt. ed. (New York: Basic Books, 2011), 1-13.

10 Brown, *Birth of the Messiah*, 71-73.

11 Janice Capel Anderson, "Mark and Matthew in Feminist Perspective" in *Mark and Matthew 11: Comparative Readings: Reception History, Cultural Hermeneutics, and Theology*, eds. Eve-Marie Becker and Anders Runesson, WUNT 304 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013), 277-87.

12 Amy-Jill Levine, "Matthew," in *Women's Bible Commentary: Revised and Updated*, 3rd ed., eds. Carol Newsom, Sharon H. Ringe and Jacqueline E. Lapsey (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox, 2012), 467.

Matthew's genealogy hint at the inclusion of Gentiles in the spiritual people of ὙΗΩΗ, help defend against the possible claims of Jesus' illegitimacy, and highlight women and their role in the story of Israel.¹³ From a narrative perspective, their presence is deliberate and significant.

Tamar, the first female mentioned in the genealogy, is described as righteous (ἡκρά/δεδικαίωται) in Genesis 38:26. Furthermore, Irene Nowell notes both Rahab and Ruth are described as women of ἡσπ/ἔλεος in Joshua 2:12, 14 and Ruth 1:8; 3:10.¹⁴ The last woman of the genealogy, the-wife-of-Uriah (Bathsheba), remains a largely unexplored character in her own literary context where David is the protagonist.¹⁵ Critical to this study, the-wife-of Uriah (ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Οὐρίου) becomes Matthew's first tangible link to a specific story from 1–2 Samuel since Bathsheba as a character, compounded by her nameless description in the genealogy, directs the reader's attention to the infamous tale of 2 Sam 11.¹⁶ Although it is harder to fit Bathsheba into the category of righteous, Uriah certainly does, and we can largely agree with Amy-Jill Levine's comment that the women of Matthew's genealogy serve to highlight a "higher righteousness."¹⁷ It is essential to note the women of the genealogy because they often ironically establish patterns of just and merciful behavior. Even the reference to Bathsheba ironically invokes a sense of superior justice displayed by the Gentile, Uriah. The women of the genealogy portray significant traits such as righteousness and mercy, which connect to David, who is the key to the genealogy. Addressing the women and understanding their function in the genealogy is pertinent to Matthew's initial depiction of David and the Davidic line.

This study will subsequently employ its narrative-critical and intertextual methodology and explore how Matt 1:6 might allude to the infamous episode in 2 Sam 11:3–12:24 with Bathsheba and what it means for the story. Then we shall explore how Matt 1:19 portrays Joseph as a righteous son of David and determine if there might be an intertextual link to 1–2 Samuel and finally suggest how Joseph, as a literary character, consequently shapes the narrative function of what it means to be a "son of David" in Matthew's Gospel.

13 Anderson, "Mark and Matthew in Feminist Perspective," 281–86.

14 Irene Nowell, "Jesus' Great-Grandmothers: Matthew's Four and More," *CBQ* 70 (2008): 7.

15 Nowell, "Jesus' Great-Grandmothers," 8.

16 While David is mentioned in the incipit and genealogy, no specific textual links to 1–2 can be garnished therefrom. David, unlike Bathsheba, is found in multiple books within the Jewish Scriptures.

17 Levine, "Matthew," 466.

6.2 1-2 Samuel in Matt 1:6

As mentioned, the women of the genealogy force the reader's attention onto some somewhat scandalous episodes in the Jewish Scriptures, none more so than David's infamous adultery with Bathsheba and the subsequent murder of her husband, Uriah. Numerous readers suggest the phrase Δαυὶδ δὲ ἐγέννησεν τὸν Σολομῶνα ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Οὐρίου (Matt 1:6b) connects intertextually to either Βηρσαβее θυγάτηρ Ελιαβ γυνή Ουριου τοῦ Χετταίου (2 Sam 11:3 LXX/OG) or Δαυὶδ Βηρσαβее τὴν γυναικα ... ἐκάλεσεν τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Σαλωμων (2 Sam 12:24 LXX/OG).¹⁸ While I will focus on the latter intertext at greater length, we should note Matt 1:6a might also connect to the MT (1 Sam 17:12) since this portion is absent in the extant Greek translation(s). However, Matthew's Greek, with its active begetting from Jesse, does not easily lend itself to the more passive formulation of the MT, which says David was the son of this Ephrathite named Jesse. Since there is scarce evidence of an intertextual connection to the MT, we shall not pursue this link further but note that there is a conceptual link between the two texts.

6.2.1 Matthew 1:6 in Its Own Context

Matthew 1:6 functions as a linchpin in structuring the genealogy based on segments of 14 generations. The question becomes why Bathsheba (ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Οὐρίου) is included in the genealogy since we have already noted it is more difficult to consider her as an example of the kind of higher righteousness exemplified by the other women of the genealogy. Many suggestions are posited for the inclusion of Bathsheba,¹⁹ the most persuasive being that it emphasizes the failures of David and the monarchy²⁰ and highlights the righteousness of the Gentile, Uriah.²¹ The way Matthew alludes to Bathsheba, ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Οὐρίου,

18 NA²⁸, 1; Thomas Aquinas, *Commentary on the Gospel of Matthew, Chapters 1-12*, BibCom 33, trans. Jeremy Holmes and Beth Mortensen (Lander, WY: The Aquinas Institute of Sacred Doctrine, 2013), 19; John Calvin, *Commentary on a Harmony of the Evangelists, Matthew, Mark, Luke*, 3 vols., trans. William Pringle (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans), 1:92; Poul Nepper-Christensen, *Matthäusevangeliet: En Kommentar* (Århus: ANIS, 1988), 29; Ulrich Luz, *Matthew: A Commentary*, Hermeneia, 3 vols. (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 2001-2007), 1:84; Evans, *Matthew*, 35; Maier, *Das Evangelium des Matthäus*, 1:59; Walter Klaiber, *Das Matthäusevangelium*, 2 vols., BNT (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlagsgesellschaft, 2015), 1:23.

19 Jason B. Hood, *The Messiah, His Brothers, and the Nations: Matthew 1.1-17*, LNTS 441 (London: T&T Clark, 2011), 88-118.

20 J.P. Heil, "The narrative roles of the women in Matthew's genealogy," *Bib* 72 (1972): 543.

21 Charles Thomas Davis, "The Fulfillment of Creation: A Study of Matthew's Genealogy," *JAR* 41 (1973): 523.

certainly seems to shift the focus from her and unto Uriah. As we shall see, this proposal seems entirely plausible given the more prominent motifs in Matthew's Gospel, where intertextual links to David in 1–2 Samuel sometimes highlight his positive traits and occasionally negative ones.

Furthermore, the notion that Gentiles like Uriah can exhibit righteous or proper behavior fits well with specific stories in Matthew, such as the Magi and the Canaanite woman. It is entirely appropriate to regard the inclusion of the women of the genealogy, and Uriah, as a way for Matthew to illustrate a better or higher righteousness.²² In their own stories from the Jewish Scriptures, Tamar (Matt 1:3) is more righteous than Judah, Rahab (Matt 1:5) more righteous than Salmon, Ruth (Matt 1:5) more than Boaz, and Finally, Uriah (Matt 1:6) more than David.²³ The parallels are not all equal since David's sin compared to Uriah's faithfulness and righteousness is much starker than Rahab's versus Salmon's. However, the Gentile women and Uriah still outshine their Hebrew counterparts in the sense that they are quick and decisive to act correctly. This is particularly pointed with Uriah going to war, juxtaposed with David's decision to stay behind.²⁴ A further shared element of the outsiders in the genealogy is mercy. Tamar, Rahab, Ruth, and Uriah are all juxtaposed with characters not exhibiting mercy.²⁵ Of course, Gentiles are not always exemplary in Matthew. Sometimes, they are used as examples of poor behavior not to be imitated (Matt 5:47; 6:7). However, it remains likely that the story of David's sin (2 Sam 11:3–12:24) is evoked in Matthew to juxtapose Uriah's righteousness vis-à-vis David's lack thereof.

6.2.2 2 Sam 11:3 and 2 Sam 12:24 in Their Own Contexts

While it would take up too much space to fully develop the context of 2 Sam 11–12, we should briefly note that these chapters contain the infamous story of David's adultery with Bathsheba and the murder of Uriah, the righteous Hittite. Suffice it to say, 2 Sam 11–12 clearly portray David in the wrong and Bathsheba as someone being acted upon, whereas Uriah's just conduct

22 Hood, *Matthew 1.1–17*, 120; Lilly Nortjé-Meyer, "Gentile Female Characters in Matthew's Gospel: An Illustration of Righteousness," in *Transformative Encounters: Jesus and Women Re-Viewed*, ed. Ingrid Rosa Kitzberger (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 54–76.

23 For a more thorough overview and potential implications for these Gentiles exhibiting a better righteousness see Stanley Chun Man Ng, "The better righteousness, intermarriage and Levirate marriage of the Matthean Genesis: from genealogy to community" (PhD diss., University of Sydney, 2014), 136–42; Sébastien Doane, "Masculinities of the Husbands in the Genealogy of Jesus (Matt. 1:2–16)," *BibInt* 27 (2019): 100–1.

24 Amy-Jill Levine, "Matthew's Advice to a Divided Readership," in *The Gospel of Matthew in Current Study: Studies in Memory of William G. Thompson, S.J.*, ed. David Aune (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2001), 36.

25 Ng, "The better righteousness," 137.

puts “Israel to shame.”²⁶ Uriah’s exemplary behavior as a warrior, and not laying with his wife, ironically exposes David’s improper behavior of staying home and laying with Bathsheba.²⁷ The story portrays Uriah as the righteous hero and David as the unjust villain,²⁸ which makes the inclusion of Uriah into Matthew’s Davidic genealogy all the more ironic.²⁹

6.2.3 *Implied or Explicit Intertextuality*

1: Identify the marker(s) in (A) and (B)	Several <i>Stichworte</i> serve as markers in both texts, such as Δαυίδ, Ουριου, and Σαλωμων. The story of David begetting Solomon in Matt 1:6 is clearly told in 2 Sam 11-12.
2: Identify text (B)	2 Sam 11:3 and 2 Sam 12:24
3: Actualization of evocation of text (B) in text (A)	Text(s) (B)’s larger context emphasizes the fact that David and his reign were far from perfect. Ironically, the story in text(s) (B) clearly indicates that Uriah, a Gentile, is indeed the righteous character even though David’s reign is largely remembered as such. The proposed intertext thus evokes the royal motif of righteousness, yet also brims with irony.

We note the proposed intertext was available, and Matthew could have intended it and its effects on the reader. From the perspective of the history of interpretation, we note a lack of references in ancient commentaries. However, we see specific references to 2 Sam 11-12 in Aquinas and Calvin as well as in numerous more recent commentaries, which then reasonably fulfills the criterion of history of interpretation. The criterion of recurrence is not fulfilled, but the

26 Davis, “A Study of Matthew’s Genealogy,” 529.
27 For further ironic entailments see Meir Sternberg, *The Poetics of Biblical Narrative: Ideological Literature and the Drama of Reading* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1985), 186-229.
28 Smith, *Fate of Justice and Righteousness During David’s Reign*, 125-26.
29 In illustrating the validity and complexities of irony in narratives, Jerry Camery-Hoggatt makes frequent use of the David-Bathsheba story. Camery-Hoggatt ultimately applies these ironic guidelines to Mark’s Gospel, but the principles, and especially the ironies alluded to in 1-2 Samuel, are also highly applicable to Matthew. For reference see Jerry Camery-Hoggatt, *Irony in Mark’s Gospel: Text and Sub-Text*, SNTSMS 72 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 79.

criterion of volume fares better since we do see lexical parallels that point to a specific story in 2 Samuel 11:3 and 12:24. The criterion of thematic coherence is satisfied since one sees substantial parallels between what Matthew is describing in 1:6 and the events of 2 Sam 11:3 and 2 Sam 12:24. This means the criterion of satisfaction is reasonably fulfilled because the proposed intertexts cohere with Matthew's focus on Jesus' Davidic lineage as well as his initial primer on the theme of a higher righteousness.

The proposed intertexts elucidate the failings of David, which become part of Matthew's story as we shall see later. Finally, the lexical markers combined with the conceptual and thematic parallels make for plausible intertextual connections. However, the intertexts must be considered implied because we lack a fulfillment formula or a substantial sequential string of lexical clusters, which would have made the proposed intertexts more obvious.

6.2.4 *Conclusions and Narrative Implications*

The intertextual connections to 2 Sam 11:3 and 2 Sam 12:24 and their metaleptic evocation of the larger context of the adultery with Bathsheba and the murder of Uriah ironically highlight the failures of David and the righteousness of Uriah. While we have focused on Bathsheba as part of the genealogy's righteous women, we should not forget that Uriah is the one actually mentioned by name in 1:6, which focuses one's attention on the just actions of a Gentile warrior and husband. The evocation of the adultery with Bathsheba and mentioning the Gentile Uriah by name certainly underscores that 2 Samuel 11–12 portrays David as an unjust wrongdoer and Uriah as a model of just and faithful behavior. This emphasis on Gentiles acting properly, or exhibiting exemplary traits such as righteousness, faith, and mercy, is carried on into the story of the Magi and the Canaanite woman and becomes a central theme in Matthew's story in general.³⁰ The ironic evocation of the story of David's adultery with Bathsheba and Uriah's just behavior likewise functions narratively to attune the ideal reader to future occurrences of ironic uses of 1–2 Samuel. The point seems to be that righteousness ought to be associated with YHWH's people, especially his kings, but they often learn about righteousness from others.

In narrative criticism, the beginnings of stories play a substantial interpretive role. Morna Hooker says the beginnings of the Gospels are like keys that unlock them. In other words, beginnings help readers understand the whole. While Matthew appears to model his narrative on Mark's, his beginning is vastly different and is thus an essential key to understanding his Gospel.³¹

³⁰ Hood, *Matthew 1.1–17*, 137.

³¹ Hooker, *Beginnings*, 23–25.

The genealogy's emphasis on David, and later the mention of a just husband like Uriah in Matt 1:6, foreshadows how another husband, Joseph, will act justly (Matt 1:19). In addition, the focus on the female outsiders in the genealogy (Tamar, Rahab, Ruth) likely alerts the ideal reader to issues of interpreting the law mercifully,³² a notion which will also be presented to Joseph regarding Mary.

6.3 1-2 Samuel in Matt 1:19-20: Joseph as a Son of David

Following the genealogy, we encounter a somewhat puzzling pericope where Joseph is described as a being both δίκαιος (Matt 1:19) and a υἱὸς Δαυίδ (Matt 1:20), who because of Mary's pregnancy is pondering to divorce her secretly. The reason we shall consider an intertextual interplay with 1-2 Samuel is because the wording υἱὸς Δαυίδ likely prompts the reader to think of David in 1-2 Samuel.³³ Joseph's two primary descriptors in this pericope are δίκαιος and υἱὸς Δαυίδ, so the potential intertext would thus seem to involve an episode where David, or one of his sons, is called δίκαιος in 1-2 Samuel.

It has puzzled many readers that Joseph wishes to divorce Mary secretly if he is righteous. This perplexing situation is located within a pericope, Matt 1:18-25, which tells how Mary and Joseph were betrothed, how Mary became pregnant by the Holy Spirit, and how the just Joseph consequently contemplated a secret divorce. Then an angel appears to Joseph in a dream, causing him to remain with Mary and name the child Jesus because the child is conceived by the Holy Spirit and will save his people from their sins (Matt 1:20-21).

Many scholars have been content treating Matthew 1:18-25 as a pericope which helps the reader understand how Joseph adopts Jesus into the Davidic line.³⁴ However, because of the narrative importance of beginnings, Joseph may be a significant character in Matthew's opening chapters since he is the first to be labeled as a υἱὸς Δαυίδ in the narrative proper (Matt 1:20).³⁵ Joseph

32 Ng notes that "Judah employed the priestly law to attempt to burn Tamar; Salmon the [spy]'s visiting Rahab's house was to prepare destruction ... including Rahab; Boaz hesitated to marry Ruth ... with respect to the Deuteronomic law." See Ng "The better righteousness," 137.

33 John Mark Jones notes that the title primarily evokes 1-2 Samuel, yet likely also more. For reference see Jones, "Subverting the Textuality of Davidic Messianism," 261.

34 Müller, *Matthäusevangeliet*, 85; France, *Gospel of Matthew*, 58; Hagner, *Matthew 1-13*, 21; Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 1:219; Luz, *Matthew*, 1:95.

35 Although Jesus is called a son of David in the incipit, it does not help the reader further understand what it means to be a υἱὸς Δαυίδ even though the term would certainly ignite a cultural encyclopedia and allude to a typological archetype.

thus creates expectations for further uses of the title in the rest of the story. The focus on Joseph in 1:18–25 is not meant to diminish the role of Mary. However, the text itself seems to focus on Joseph as a righteous/just man of action.³⁶

Ulrich Luz argues Matthew's prologue forms the prelude to his entire Gospel and says we cannot read the prologue (Matt 1:1–4:22) apart from the rest of the larger story. One cannot merely use tradition-history as the key to understanding the meaning of "son of David" in Matthew's Gospel. Indeed, because Matthew presents a gospel story that needs to be read from beginning to end, one should heed Luz's narrative approach when he says: "Matthew narrates the meaning of the title son of David in his story."³⁷

Joseph is placed in the Matthean genealogy as a descendant (son) of David, and Anthony Le Donne suggests Matthew uses the term "son of David" as a typological device to lend authority to Jesus. He suggests the term "son of David" evokes a dual typology, one to David and one, more prominently, to Solomon the archetypal son of David.³⁸ In the case of this pericope, Joseph as a "son of David" might be a typological reference to Solomon. However, given the scope of this project's focus on 1–2 Samuel, a potential intertext to Solomon whose conception and birth is only mentioned briefly in 2 Sam 12:24 only to re-emerge as an important character in 1 Kings, is not pursued. Also, Solomon is never called δίδαιος in the LXX/OG, and the passage at hand lacks unique Solomonic markers such as the temple, temple building, or exorcisms.³⁹ I say this acknowledging that the primary evocation of "son of David" is often tied to Solomonic traditions.⁴⁰

However, Anthony Le Donne suggests a dual evocation to both David and Solomon via the title "son of David." Usually, the title "son of David" is related to Jesus' healing activities (Matt 9:27; 12:23; 15:22; 20:31–32),⁴¹ and it is often couched in larger conflicts with various groups (mainly Pharisees),⁴² but these are not in focus in Matt 1:19–20. H. Daniel Zacharias notes that because Joseph is addressed as "son of David" his actions are representative of the Davidic kingly line.⁴³ However, he fails to thoroughly investigate how Joseph's actions are

36 Luz, *Matthew*, 1:97.

37 Luz, *Studies in Matthew*, 85.

38 Le Donne, *The Historiographical Jesus*, 173–74.

39 Several Second Temple texts and traditions portray Solomon as an archetypal exorcist. For reference see Jiří Dvořáček, *The son of David in Matthew's Gospel in the light of the Solomon as Exorcist Tradition*, WUNT 2.415 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2016).

40 Le Donne, *The Historiographical Jesus*, 96–97.

41 Novakovic, *Messiah, the Healer of the Sick*, 77–122.

42 Jones, "Subverting the Textuality of Davidic Messianism," 268.

43 Zacharias, *Matthew's Presentation of the Son of David*, 55.

representative in Matt 1:18-23, other than mentioning his decision to continue in his marital relationship with Mary secures Jesus' Davidic heritage, and the importance of the righteous Joseph obeying the angel's commands.⁴⁴ It seems prudent to build upon Zacharias' notion of Joseph's representative actions as a δίκαιος son of David. The close association between Joseph-the-son-of-David and his being δίκαιος potentially forms intertextual parallels to stories of King David as δίκαιος in 1-2 Sam, and the only such occurrence is 1 Sam 24:18 in the LXX/OG.

A specific word, sentence, scene, or story in the Gospel of Matthew might allude to a previous story known by at least some of his audience (ideal reader).⁴⁵ Narrative critics do not think all readers would have seen or heard all possible intertexts, nor that those who did would have done so on their first reading or hearing. By focusing on David and the keyword δίκαιος, we can proceed to step one in our intertextual methodology and identify the intertextual markers. There is but one reference to King David himself as merciful and δίκαιος in the Jewish Scriptures, namely 1 Sam 24:18 in the LXX/OG. When the ideal reader sees Joseph-son-of-David being δίκαιος in Matthew 1:18-25, especially in light of its narrative cohesion with chapter 2, she might well remember the famous story wherein David spares Saul's life in the desert of En Gedi and is then proclaimed δίκαιος as well as the rightful king.

Before determining a possible intertextual linkage between the two texts, I will briefly examine how Matthean scholarship has understood "righteousness." Then, I will look at Matt 1:19-20 and 1 Sam 24:18 in their own contexts to see if righteousness offers a suitable conceptual parallel and then use the intertextual criteria to classify the potential intertext and its influence on Matthew's text.

44 Ibid., 56-58.

45 Martin Karrer deals with scriptural references in Revelation and argues the author of Revelation used memorable biblical words so that Rev 1:1 carries "eine Referenz zum Buch Daniel" via *Stichworte*. For reference see Martin Karrer, "Reception and Rewriting: Beobachtungen zu Schriftreferenzen und Textgeschichte der Apokalypse," in *Rewriting and Reception of the Bible*, eds. Jesper Høgenhaven, Jesper Tang Nielsen and Heike Omerzu, WUNT 396 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2018), 209. For others who argue that a few words can ignite a larger literary context see Ben-Porat, "Literary Allusion," 110-12; Beate Kowalski, "Selective Versus Contextual Allusions Reconsidering Technical Terms of Intertextuality," in *Methodology in the Use of the Old Testament in the New: Context and Criteria*, eds. David Allen and Steve Smith, LNTS 579 (London: T&T Clark, 2021), 86-87. In classical studies, the same argument is made by Ahuvia Kahane who says that one word in the Odyssey "has the power to trigger the analogy and an emotive 'Illiadic' narrative intertext." For reference see Ahuvia Kahane, "Formal Diction, Intertextuality, Narrative and the Complexity of Greek Epic Diction," SO 93 (2019): 253.

6.3.1 *Righteousness in Matthean Scholarship*

The notion of righteousness within Matthew is closely linked to the law. At least, this is a fundamental assumption in the seminal work *Tradition and Interpretation in Matthew* by Bornkamm, Barth, and Held.⁴⁶ The proper interpretation of the law is thus a significant part of what it means to act righteously. For Matthew, the indispensable elements of the law are “judgment, mercy and faith (Matt. 23:23).”⁴⁷ These elements are necessary for a Matthean disciple to exhibit the greater righteousness desired (Matt 5:20), and they are linked to an allegiance to the law as interpreted and fulfilled by Jesus.⁴⁸ The reason for this is because Jesus is righteous (Matt 27:19), fulfills all righteousness (Matt 3:15), and persecution for his sake is like persecution for the sake of righteousness (Matt 5:10–11).⁴⁹ Righteousness is essentially “the conduct which corresponds with the will of God in the law,”⁵⁰ as interpreted by Jesus who intimates that a central part thereof is to show mercy to others.⁵¹

Benno Przybylski notes δικαιοσύνη is “a characteristically Matthean term.”⁵² He argues against certain scholars who see righteousness as a gift. By looking at the concrete usages in several Dead Sea Scrolls and Matthew, i.e. Matt 5:20, he argues that righteousness most fundamentally “refers to conduct according to a norm which in this case is the law.”⁵³ Indeed, most occurrences of the righteous word group (Matt 3:15; 5:6, 20; 6:1, 20; 21:32) relate to God’s demand upon humans rather than a gift.⁵⁴

Concerning the adjective, δίκαιος, Przybylski suggests that it is not meant to designate those who follow the teachings of Jesus, but those who obey the law.⁵⁵ However, Przybylski then notes that interpretation of the law is evolving and that degrees of righteousness emerge in Matthew depending on whether one follows Jesus’ interpretation.⁵⁶ Perhaps the most significant conclusion is

46 Günther Bornkamm, Gerhard Barth and Heinz Joachim Held, *Tradition and Interpretation in Matthew*, trans. Percy Scott, NTL (Philadelphia, PA: Westminster Press, 1963), 24.

47 Ibid., 26.

48 Ibid., 29.

49 Ibid., 30.

50 Ibid., 31.

51 Ibid., 37.

52 Benno Przybylski, *Righteousness in Matthew and His World of Thought*, SNTSMS 41 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), 78.

53 Ibid., 87.

54 Ibid., 99.

55 Ibid., 103.

56 Ibid., 105.

that, for Przybylski, Matthew's presentation of disciples doing the will of God is conceptually different from a "righteous person doing righteousness."⁵⁷

Roland Deines' magisterial work focuses primarily on righteousness in Matthew 5:13-17 and does not simply view righteousness as a demand on humans and proper conduct. Instead, Deines considers the most vital characteristic of righteousness in relation to Joseph in 1:19 as "die Übereinstimmung von Handeln und Gottes Willen," which falls on a wide spectrum and is not confined to correct ethical behavior, law observance, love for neighbor, and so on.⁵⁸ According to Deines, acting according to the call and will of YHWH is the basic definition of righteousness in Matthew.⁵⁹ However, depending on the context, being righteous can also be associated with entry into the kingdom (Matt 5:20) and can thus be considered an eschatological phenomenon.⁶⁰ Deines furthermore notes that righteousness is tied to Jesus, who fulfills the law, and that the law is to be understood in light of him.⁶¹ This Christological emphasis is in stark contrast to Przybylski, especially when Deines says; "Was die »Tora« bis in ihren letzten Buchstaben will, so versteht es Matthäus, ist Jesus für seiner Jünger: der Weg zur Gottesherrschaft und ihrer Gerechtigkeit."⁶² God's righteousness in and through Jesus thus becomes important to Deines because "Die zwischenmenschlichen gerechten Beziehungen werden dabei durchgängig in Abhängigkeit von Gottes Gerechtigkeit gesehen, die ihre Gewährung und Ermöglichung bildet."⁶³

While Deines cogently argues for righteousness to be placed on a spectrum based on its contextual use, his Christological focus is perhaps stretched too far when he argues that Matt 5:20 is not comparative, not about having more righteousness than the Pharisees and scribes. Instead, it is about a radical either-or, namely about whether one has the fullness of the eschatological righteousness that Jesus provides.⁶⁴ Przybylski certainly would question whether the text allows for such an interpretation.

The final study in our brief overview is by Nathan Eubank who argues that ancient Judaism, Matthew included, tended to view sins as incurring debt on

57 Ibid., 115.

58 Roland Deines, *Gerechtigkeit der Tora*, 126.

59 Ibid., 126.

60 Ibid., 158.

61 Ibid., 274-75.

62 Ibid., 334.

63 Ibid., 642.

64 Ibid., 424-25.

one side of a scale and righteous deeds canceling them out on the other side.⁶⁵ There is thus a fiscal metaphor at work in Matthew's sin and righteousness language. Just like in Deines' study, Eubank considers righteousness on a spectrum, or at least he views righteousness contextually. First, Eubank notes that Matthew presents acts of righteousness as actions to be performed and that deeds of mercy grant one future heavenly recompense.⁶⁶ Acts of righteousness are important, but so are motives. Indeed, acts of righteousness are not to be done before others (Matt 6:1), meaning that righteousness is also related to the purity of one's motives and not mere act.⁶⁷ The point of this, for Eubank, is that both sin and righteousness are "stored up until the time of their fullness when the Son of Man comes to collect debt and pay wages."⁶⁸ This further means that Jesus solves the problem by offering "the gift of his own righteousness."⁶⁹

It seems clear that righteousness in Matthew is to be understood contextually, and on a spectrum. On the one hand, passages in Matthew do seem to relate righteousness to acts of mercy, forgiveness, and almsgiving, or to following the law based on Jesus' interpretation because he knows and communicates the will of YHWH. On the other hand, it may also mean doing what is right or "honorable" in any situation.⁷⁰ Finally, righteousness seems to take on Christological and eschatological nuances in various parts of Matthew. Still, this nuance is perhaps not at the fore when the reader encounters the righteous Joseph who ponders what to do with Mary. Judith Stack argues that righteousness in Matthew is not about slavishly following the letter of the law but rather a person's ability to "distinguish (engage in κρίσις) and apply underlying principles of the Law to the enforcement of the individual commands."⁷¹ One of those underlying principles is mercy,⁷² and the result is that the more basic meaning of a person being righteous in Matthew focuses on the demand of certain behaviors.⁷³ Certainly, Przybylski offers a false dichotomy as he notes righteousness is categorically unrelated to the disciples doing God's will. Rather, it seems that doing God's will is intimately tied to doing righteousness

65 Nathan Eubank, *Wages of Cross-Bearing and Debt of Sin: The Economy of Heaven in Matthew's Gospel*, BZNW 169 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2013), 126–27.

66 Ibid., 69–71, 124.

67 Ibid., 78.

68 Ibid., 129.

69 Ibid., 131.

70 Carlston and Evans, *From Synagogue to Ekklesia*, 178.

71 Judith V. Stack, *Metaphor and the Portrayal of the Cause(s) of Sin and Evil in the Gospel of Matthew*, BINS 182 (Leiden: Brill, 2020), 159.

72 Ibid., 160.

73 Carlston and Evans, *From Synagogue to Ekklesia*, 181–82.

(Matt 6:1-7:12), which is further connected to discipleship.⁷⁴ In light of these observations, we now turn our attention to Joseph, the righteous man, who ponders what to do about his betrothed, Mary.

6.3.2 *Matthew 1:19-20 in Its Own Context*

Matthew 1:19 consists of one main clause interrupted by a fronted clause of subordinate present participles:

Ἰωσήφ δὲ ὁ ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς,
δίκαιος ὢν καὶ μὴ θέλων αὐτὴν δεῖγματίσαι,⁷⁵
ἐβουλήθη λάθρα ἀπολῦσαι αὐτήν

The main verbal construction in verse 19 is the aorist ἐβουλήθη (intended), followed by a complementary infinitive ἀπολῦσαι (to divorce). Interestingly, the subordinate clause consists of present participles which usually convey the imperfective aspect and thus tend to focus on the process of an action.⁷⁶ These participles appear before the main verb and could therefore be considered causal participles, which may focus on an antecedent act or cause.⁷⁷ In this scenario, the cause of Joseph's desire to divorce Mary secretly is thus rooted in δίκαιος ὢν καὶ μὴ θέλων αὐτὴν δεῖγματίσαι. However, much depends on how we understand the καὶ in the subordinate participial clause. If we translate it as "and," then the participles seem to fit well as causal participles and the clause as one that explains Joseph intends to divorce Mary secretly because he is righteous and does not wish to disgrace her.⁷⁸ On the other hand, some scholars see the καὶ in the participial clause as creating tension and argue the καὶ should be

74 Ibid., 185.

75 The textual variant (παραδειγματίζω; see apparatus in NA²⁸ page 2) carries much the same meaning as δεῖγματίζω except it may highlight the element of physical punishment associated with the act of making a public example of someone thus functioning as an intensification of the verb δεῖγματίζω. For reference see BDAG, s.v. παραδειγματίζω; GE s.v. παραδειγματισμός.

76 Stanley Porter, *Idioms of the Greek New Testament*, 2nd ed., BLG 2 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994), 188.

77 F. Blass and E. Debrunner, *A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*, trans. Robert Funk (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1961), 216; Porter, *Idioms*, 188; Daniel Wallace, *Greek Grammar Beyond the Basics* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1996), 625, 631; Kenneth L. McKay, *A New Syntax of the Verb in New Testament Greek: An Aspectual Approach*, SBG 5 (New York, NY: Peter Lang, 1994), 42.

78 Luz, *Matthew*, 1:95; Heinrich von Siebenthal, *Ancient Greek Grammar: for the Study of the New Testament* (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2019), 395.

translated “yet,” which thus renders a concessive participial clause.⁷⁹ In such a translation, “Joseph’s righteousness, in the sense of obedience to the law, is set over against his own wishes” not to make an example of Mary.⁸⁰

In light of verse 20 (ταῦτα δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐνθυμηθέντος), the ταῦτα seems to communicate the previous nominative circumstantial frame δίκαιος ὢν καὶ μὴ θέλων αὐτὴν δειγματίσαι in verse 19 is understood as one unit which means the καὶ does not create tension in the clause. By looking at the larger discourse, the καὶ in verse 19 is thus a coordinating conjunction, not a contrasting one. If Matthew wished to create tension or contrast, he could have easily used the most common contrasting conjunctions such as ἀλλά, μέντοι with negation, καίτοι, etc. It seems some commentators assume δίκαιος must mean righteous before the law or careful to keep the law.⁸¹ The word obviously has that nuance but does not have to be confined to those connotations in this context.⁸² The word has an immense semantic range, and its meaning must be determined by context. Some ancient commentators view Joseph’s righteousness as his knowledge of the Scriptures, especially the promise of the savior’s birth by a virgin in Isaiah, as well as his chastity with Mary.⁸³ However, the question of what exactly constitutes Joseph’s righteousness remains.

From a grammatical and narrative standpoint, I am inclined to agree with James Dvorak’s view of Joseph’s righteousness as he says: “the readers/hearers of Matthew are positioned to view Joseph and his inclination not to disgrace Mary as merciful.”⁸⁴ Δίκαιος ὢν is thus a causal participle which gives the reason for Joseph’s merciful inclination not to disgrace/shame Mary. The present participle indicates he was righteous as he planned what to do with Mary,⁸⁵ which follows a string of interpreters who argue Joseph’s righteous-

79 This contrasting notion goes at least as far back as Calvin. See Calvin, *Commentary on a Harmony of the Evangelists*, 1:94.

80 Hagner, *Matthew 1–13*, 13. For a similar view see Harrington, *Matthew*, 34.

81 Tord Fornberg, *Matteusevangeliet*, 1:24; W.F. Albright and C.S. Mann, *Matthew*, AB 26 (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1971), 7; France, *Gospel of Matthew*, 51; Hagner, *Matthew 1–13*, 18.

82 John Nolland argues that Matthew’s understanding of “righteous” is much wider than law observance. See Nolland, *Gospel of Matthew*, 95.

83 In a recently published Latin mss from the middle of the fourth century, Fortunatianus of Aquileia comments on Joseph’s righteousness. The Latin reads as follows: *Ergo quia erat iustus Ioseph et sciens scriptum esse per prophetas*. For reference see Fortunatianus Aquileiensis, *Commentarii in evangelia*, ed. Lukas J. Dorfbauer, CSEL 103 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2017), 124.

84 James D. Dvorak, “Prodding with Prosody: Persuasion and Social Influence Through the Lens of Appraisal Theory,” *BAGL* 4 (2015): 107.

85 Poul Nepper-Christensen, “Utugtsklausulen og Josef i Matthæusevangeliet,” *SEA* 34 (1969): 140.

ness meant that he had mercy on his fiancée.⁸⁶ Particularly forceful is Peter Fiedler who says:

Als Grund dafür wird angegeben, dass Josef „gerecht“ war. Dieser und weitere damit verwandte Begriffe sind für Matt kennzeichnend (s. besonders zu 3,15 und zu Kap. 5-7). Bereits hier wird deutlich, dass „Gerecht“ im Sinn von „der Tora treu“ – gerade nicht meint, auf das einem zustehende Recht zu pochen, sondern zu Gunsten eines mitmenschlichen Verhaltens darauf zu verzichten.⁸⁷

Walter Klaiber notes: “Also: Nicht *obwohl*, sondern *weil* er gerecht war, verzichtet Josef auf eine öffentliche Anklage und beschränkt sich darauf, sich ohne Aufsehen von ihr zu trennen.”⁸⁸ It appears Matthew suggests one can be righteous and follow the law if one does it with mercy, while also indicating one cannot be righteous and follow the law without mercy (Matt 5:7; 9:13; 12:7; 18:33; 23:23; 25:37-46).⁸⁹ From a narrative and grammatical perspective, Joseph’s righteousness is best understood to be rooted in mercy and compassion from which his actions, and doing of the law, proceed. For it seems the law offers two options,⁹⁰ one of which avoids the public exposure of the transgressor (Deut 24:1). Joseph’s righteousness is thus juxtaposed with the examples of the outsiders in the genealogy whose counterparts do not interpret the law through a lens of mercy. Joseph’s righteousness thus aligns contextually with the scholarly focus on righteousness as doing what is right or honorable in any given situation, having pure motives, and fitting the demand for specific behavior. It seems the story suggests Joseph must divorce Mary if she is pregnant, but he has options concerning how to do so.

86 See Keener, *Matthew*, 93; Brown, *Birth of the Messiah*, 126-127; Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 1:203; Ceslas Spicq, “Joseph, son mari, étant juste,” *RB* 71 (1964): 206-14; Gerhard Maier, *Das Evangelium des Matthäus*, 1:77-78.

87 Peter Fiedler, *Das Matthäusevangelium*, THKNT 1 (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2006), 48.

88 Klaiber, *Das Matthäusevangelium*, 1:28.

89 Richard Hays strongly urges that one views mercy as the center of Matthew’s call for righteous obedience of the Torah. See Richard Hays, “The Gospel of Matthew: Reconfigured Torah,” *HvTSt* 61 (2005): 165-90. For an emphasis on mercy in regard to righteousness see also Bornkamm, Barth and Held, *Matthew*, 24-32.

90 Ruth Poser, “Maria: gewaltvoll beschämt – aufgerichtet aus Geistkraft” in *Der Anfang des Neuen Testaments: Matthäus 1-4 neu entdeckt Ein Kommentar mit Beiträgen zum Gespräch*, eds. Frank Crüsemann, Claudia Janssen and Rainer Kessler (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2019), 101; Angelo Tosato aptly says Joseph has two legal options; “he must either expose his betrothed to public trial or public shame ... or divorce her secretly.” For reference see Angelo Tosato, “Joseph, Being a Just Man (Matt 1:19),” *CBQ* 41 (1979): 548.

As mentioned, many scholars consider the purpose of this pericope to be the establishment of Jesus' Davidic ancestry. While this is true, the text clearly creates a close connection between δίκαιος and "son of David." These terms are applied to Joseph as he acts mercifully, in accordance with the law, and does what is right. But the full extent of Joseph's righteous mercy perhaps only fully emerges when we consider just how grave Mary's situation would be if Joseph did not intend to divorce her secretly.

6.3.3 *Divorce, Disgrace, and Death in Matt 1:19*

The first matters to be considered are Joseph's options in the divorce scenario of Matt 1:19. The passage indicates Joseph knows of Mary's pregnancy, which is the grounds for his subsequent assumption of adultery and desire for a quiet divorce. It has not initially been revealed to Joseph that Mary is with child through the Holy Spirit. But what is a righteous/just man to do when confronted with the adultery of his betrothed? Most interpreters argue divorce was a legal option, yet few are willing to discuss other options.⁹¹ The predominant issue in Matt 1:19 centers on why Joseph desires a private/secret divorce as opposed to a public one,⁹² and the possibility of lethal punishment for Mary, which seems to be ignored based on lack of evidence proving its use at the time.⁹³ But Matthew Marohl forcefully argues the possibility of an honor killing is not adequately considered⁹⁴ because most interpreters assume divorce was the only genuine option.

Marohl cleverly shows that certain scholars, such as Luz and Gundry, follow the previous work of Strack and Billerbeck in arguing the practice of stoning no longer took place. However, Marohl shows that Strack and Billerbeck "do not state in any way that stoning was no longer practiced in the first century."⁹⁵ Not only are Strack and Billerbeck being misrepresented, but scholars tend to categorically overlook the quite tangible ancient threat to women and young girls who bring shame to their families.⁹⁶

91 Matthew Marohl, *Joseph's Dilemma: 'Honour Killing' in the Birth Narrative of Matthew* (Cambridge: James Clark and Co., 2008), 26. Although Luz does mention textual evidence for stoning in a footnote (Deut 22:23–27; 11QT 66:4–5; Philo *Spec. leg.* 3.72–78). For reference see Luz, *Matthew*, 1:94 n. 45.

92 Hagner, *Matthew 1–13*, 18; Evans, *Matthew*, 40; Nolland, *Matthew*, 95; Fornberg, *Mattheusevangeliet*, 1:24.

93 Müller, *Matthäusevangeliet*, 84; Maier, *Evangelium des Matthäus*, 1:78–9; Nolland, *Matthew*, 95; France, *Matthew*, 77; Luz, *Matthew*, 1:94; Hagner, *Matthew 1–13*, 18; Keener, *Matthew*, 93.

94 Marohl, *Joseph's Dilemma*, 25.

95 Ibid., 28.

96 Marohl marshals a good case for the ongoing practice of honor killings in the ancient Mediterranean by surveying works like Suetonius' *Life of Caesar* and the *Protevangelium of James*. Ibid., 38–58.

Marohl mentions that Arthur Carr refers to “punishment” regarding adultery, yet he offers no description of what this might be.⁹⁷ Carr’s silence on the matter exemplifies how several commentators conceptualize a world wherein honor killings of women and girls no longer occur. However, Carr notes Joseph’s choice to divorce secretly is merciful.⁹⁸ If stoning was a viable option, which culturally one cannot deny, then Joseph’s insistence on a secret divorce minimizes the risk of exposing Mary, and his righteousness and mercy stand out even more.

In discussing Bruce Malina’s brief treatment of honor in relation to fathers and daughters, Marohl notes Malina either ignores or overlooks Matt 1:19, which ought to be part of Malina’s matrix of the “oldest son’s duty to restore the honor of the father”⁹⁹ in cases where a daughter dishonors her father and family.¹⁰⁰ In certain situations, such a dishonor may result in an honor killing of the offending family member. This leads to another lament of Marohl’s, namely that many scholars view the incident as being about Mary’s honor rather than the honor of her family (father) and Joseph.¹⁰¹

Marohl is right that most modern interpreters seem to shy away from death as a possible punishment for Mary, and he does well to point to early interpreters like John Chrysostom (*Hom. Matt.* 4.7) and the author of the *Protevangelium of James* (*Prot. Jas.* 10:15) who do not. Furthermore, Marohl points out a current interpreter, John Pilch, who allows for the possibility that Mary could be killed. Pilch suggests Joseph is legally authorized to return Mary to her father and thus likely expose her to death, yet Joseph, as a righteous man, decides to send her away in a different manner.¹⁰² For Marohl, who follows Pilch to a great degree, the honor of the father and the family must be defended.¹⁰³ Modern commentators who allow for corporal punishment are Craig Keener, who suggests zealous Mediterranean families would prefer the death of their daughter rather than live with the shame brought on by adultery,¹⁰⁴ and Daniel Harrington, who is open to the possibility because we cannot know the degree

97 Arthur Carr, *The Gospel According to St. Matthew* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1902), 32.

98 *Ibid.*, 32.

99 Bruce J. Malina, *Windows on the World of Jesus: Time Travel to Ancient Judea* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox, 1993), 5.

100 Marohl, *Joseph’s Dilemma*, 35.

101 *Ibid.*, 35–36.

102 John J. Pilch, *The Cultural World of Jesus: Sunday by Sunday Cycle A* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1995), 11.

103 Marohl, *Joseph’s Dilemma*, 36.

104 Keener, *Matthew*, 92–93.

to which the death penalty of Deut 22:23–27 was actually imposed.¹⁰⁵ Finally, Philip Esler has recently and forcefully underscored the potential mortal danger facing Mary.¹⁰⁶

While Marohl does well in his socio-cultural analysis, perhaps the textual variant in Matt 1:19 (παραδειγματίζω)¹⁰⁷ suggests early scribes and copyists regarded inherent punishment to be part of public divorce proceedings, which is what Joseph seeks to avoid. While Nils Dahl suggests that παραδειγματίζω is synonymous with δειγματίζω,¹⁰⁸ we must take seriously that the only other NT occurrence of that word is in Heb 6:6 where it is correlated to Jesus' crucifixion. Furthermore, the occurrence of παραδειγματίζω in classical Greek texts often entails corporal punishment and death. For example, Polybius notes that Aristomachos was tortured and publicly shamed until he passed away as a punishment for his betrayal: καὶ μετὰ τιμωρίας παραδειγματιζόμενον οὕτως ἐκλίπειν τὸ ζῆν (*Hist.* 2.60.7). Furthermore, Polybius uses παραδειγματίζω about public punishment, not merely shame, in other places (*Hist.* 5.32.5–6). Interestingly, Polybius also uses a form of δειγματίζω when describing a person's wish not to inflict punishment whilst still making a public example of the transgressor (*Hist.* 3.69.3). Although it is beyond the scope of this study to thoroughly investigate all uses of παραδειγματίζω in classical Greek texts, it seems παραδειγματίζω often carries a sense of corporal punishment as part of the public shaming.¹⁰⁹

Interesting uses of παραδειγματίζω also occur in the Greek translations of the Jewish Scriptures. For example, Num 25:4 refers to the hanging of leaders, and in Jer 13:22 παραδειγματίζω is used to translate the Hebrew סִמָּן, which might connote physical punishment as part of public exposure.¹¹⁰ However, in Ezek 28:17 παραδειγματίζω seems to merely carry the meaning of someone shamefully exposed as a public spectacle. Overall, it seems fair to say that παραδειγματίζω likely functions as an intensification of δειγματίζω in the LXX/OG since it often entails physical punishment.

105 Harrington, *Matthew*, 34–37.

106 Philip Esler, "Righteousness of Joseph: Interpreting Matt 1:18–25 in Light of Judean Legal Papyri," *NTS* 68 (2022): 337–38.

107 The variant is attested in several unicals such as corrections in Sinaiticus, and original preference in Ephraemi, Regius, Washingtonianus, Cyprius, Guelferbytanus and several miniscules. See apparatus of Matt 1:19 in NA²⁸, p 2.

108 Nils A. Dahl, *Matteusevangeliet* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1968), 26.

109 GE, s.v. "παρδειγματίζω."

110 Heinrich Schiller, "παρδειγματίζω," *TDNT* 2:32.

In conclusion, it seems some scribes or copyists thought there was a distinction between παραδειγματίζω and δειγματίζω, a notion corroborated by the different nuances in both LXX/OG and classical Greek texts. The textual variant in Matt 1:19 meshes well with Marohl's socio-cultural insights and forces the reader to seriously consider the possibility that Joseph's choice of sending Mary away secretly spares her life and the life of the unborn Jesus. The textual variant in Matt 1:19 thus corroborates Marohl's focus on honor-killing as a suitable backdrop, and possibly strengthens a thematic link between Matt 1:19–20 and 1 Sam 24:18. However, the potential intertext must still be viewed in its larger narrative context, namely Matthew chapter two.

6.3.4 *Matthew 1:19–20 and Its Narrative Connection with Matthew 2*

Ulrich Luz argues Matt 1:18–25 and Matt 2 are thematically related via their dream sequences and other structural features.¹¹¹ One should read Matt 1:1–17 as the genealogy proper and then view Matt 1:18–2:23 as a separate literary/narrative unit¹¹² because Joseph is the main protagonist and because Matt 1:18–25 is thematically linked to the rest of chapter 2 via concepts such as dreams, angels, infant(s), and prophecy fulfillment. In these first chapters, which are uniquely Matthean, Joseph represents David's line, the true monarchical line of Israel, which is contrasted with the current monarchical dynasty epitomized by Herod. Jacques Cazeaux labels Matthew's two first chapters "Le prologue: les deux royautés"¹¹³ and suggests:

Jésus est-il ici interprété comme le Roi véritable, soit comme un héritier non conforme de David (premier chapitre) et donc un supplantateur imprévisible des rois devenus des Pharaons, à la façon d'Hérode (deuxième chapitre).¹¹⁴

Matthew alone portrays Joseph as righteous,¹¹⁵ and his greater focus on Joseph makes Matt 1:18–2:23 a prime display of his own creative hand.¹¹⁶ Matthew's

111 Luz, *Matthew*, 1:97. Dale Allison also notes several "triadic structures" in Matthew 1:18–2:23. See Dale C. Allison Jr., *Studies in Matthew: Interpretation Past and Present* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2005), 202–3.

112 William Varner, "A Discourse Analysis of Matthew's Nativity Narrative," *TynBull* 58 (2007): 214.

113 Cazeaux, *Matthieu*, 41–73.

114 *Ibid.*, 45–46.

115 Charlotte Voß, "Josef und das biblische Prinzip der Gerechtigkeit," in *Der Anfang des Neuen Testaments: Matthäus 1–4 neu entdeckt Ein Kommentar mit Beiträgen zum Gespräch*, eds. Frank Crüsemann, Claudia Janssen and Rainer Kessler (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2019), 74.

116 H.C. Waetjen, "The Genealogy as The Key to Matthew's Gospel," *JBL* 95 (1976): 220.

writing, centered on Joseph, emphasizes the link between righteousness, mercy, and the Davidic line. This, of course, is hardly surprising given the women of the genealogy as well as Jesus' title as a son of Abraham. Abraham was chosen so that he and his house would do acts of righteousness and justice (Gen 18:19). If 1:19–20 truly portrays Joseph as righteous and merciful, he seems to function as a royal Davidic representation of mercy and righteousness pitted against Herod the unjust and unmerciful child murderer in chapter 2.¹¹⁷ The feasibility of this hypothesis will be explored more fully in the next chapter.

This intratextual parallel between Joseph and Herod as representatives of two royal dynasties is highlighted by the word *λάθρᾳ*.¹¹⁸ Joseph seeks to divorce Mary secretly (*λάθρᾳ*) in order not to shame and hurt her, an act of pious mercy. On the other hand, Herod secretly (*λάθρᾳ*) calls the Magi to find Jesus and to pay homage to him (Matt 2:7–8). Herod's request to be notified of the new king's birthplace turns out to be a mendacious pretense for the cruel killings of infant boys in and around Bethlehem (Matt 2:13–18) for Herod to preserve his power. These intratextual insights underscore Matthew's tendency to juxtapose two competing kingdoms, one just and the other unjust.¹¹⁹ The point is that the portrayal of Joseph in Matt 1:19–20 shows the "son of David" as righteous and merciful, traits which the ideal reader would expect to encounter further on in the story, and also traits that might establish an intertextual connection to 1 Sam 24:18 LXX/OG.

6.3.5 1 Sam 24:18 in Its Own Context

David's flight from Saul to the wilderness of En Gedi ends with a chance for David to take Saul's life (1 Sam 24:1–7). However, David decides not to attack Saul (1 Sam 24:10–11) and rather spare him, which culminates in an emotional response from Saul wherein he declares that David's choice to spare his life means he is more righteous (1 Sam 24:18). Thus, the kingship belongs to David (1 Sam 24:21). This declaration of David being more righteous than Saul seems

117 Wayne Baxter, "Whose King Is He Anyway? What Herod Tells Us About Matthew," in *Matthew Within Judaism: Israel and the Nations in the First Gospel*, eds. Anders Runesson and Daniel M. Gurtner, SBLCL 27 (Atlanta: GA: SBL, 2020), 246–47.

118 Cazeaux, *Matthieu*, 53.

119 Matthias Konradt notes the parallelism between Matthew's Herod and the Pharaoh from Exodus 2 and says that Matthew creates deliberate contrasts between Herod as the king of the Jews and the story's true king, Jesus. For reference see Matthias Konradt, *The Gospel according to Matthew: A Commentary*, trans. M. Eugene Boring (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2020), 32, 43–44.

to have an intertextual link to Gen 38:27 and the story of Tamar and Judah.¹²⁰ Such a link is interesting because Matt 1:3 has already alluded to the same story.

6.3.6 Shared Literary and Thematic Features in Matt 1:19 and 1 Sam 24:18
The option to take life emerges as a shared theme between Matt 1:19 and 1 Sam 24:18 LXX/OG. And notably, both David and Joseph mercifully choose not to take life. Saul declares David more righteous than himself because he spared his life (1 Sam 24:18 LXX/OG), and notes that this good and righteous deed shows the throne belongs to David. In verse 20, Saul says this incident makes him realize David will be king, and 1 Sam 24:17–22 thus presents righteousness and mercy as the hallmarks of the true king of Israel.

The link between “son of David” and righteousness in Matt 1:19–20 is further bolstered via the intertextual interplay within 1 Sam 24:18, which itself likely alludes to the Judah and Tamar story, already alluded to in Matt 1:3, where Tamar is more righteous than Judah (Gen 38:26). Since Joseph likely chooses to avoid death and humiliation for Mary, and is juxtaposed with Herod in chapter 2, the ideal reader sees Joseph’s righteousness in a comparative context. A similar comparative context is at work in 1 Sam 24:18 when Saul acknowledges David is more righteous than he. Given the shared lexical marker and thematic parallels, we can now proceed to establish the proposed intertext as either explicit or implied.

6.3.7 Implied or Explicit Intertextuality

1: Identify the marker(s) in (A) and (B)	David, or a son of David, the word/concept δίκαιος, and the concept of mercy and refusal to take a life within a comparative context where Joseph and David are portrayed as more righteous.
2: Identify text (B)	1 Sam 24:18 LXX/OG.
3: Actualization of evocation of text (B) in text (A)	Text (B)’s larger context emphasizes the importance of mercy and righteousness within the royal house of Israel and compares a leader with those qualities with a current sitting monarch who does not possess those qualities.

120 Firth, 1–2 Samuel, 259–60; Bodner, 1 Samuel, 255.

In light of Hays' criteria, 1 Sam 24:18 would certainly be available to the writer and the readers. In other words, the proposed intertext was available to Matthew, and he could have intended it and its effects thus satisfying the criteria of availability and historical plausibility. The proposed intertextual link between Matt 1:19 and 1 Sam 24:18 seems coherent and even grants a sense of cohesion within Matthew's more extensive Davidic typology and overall narrative. The criterion of satisfaction is highly subjective, but it seems entirely satisfactory to suggest 1 Sam 24:18 as an intertext because of Matthew's general use of Davidic imagery, other references to 1–2 Samuel in the Gospel, and because this proposed intertextual link helps explain Matthew's own textual and theological purposes, especially his notion of righteousness and mercy.

The criterion of recurrence is not satisfied because 1 Sam 24:18 does not occur anywhere else in the Gospel. The criterion of volume is likewise difficult to satisfy because the only lexical marker is the word *δικαιος*. The proposed intertext lacks sustained lexical parallels, quotation indicators, or a fulfillment formula. However, the larger contexts of the two narratives share substantial themes such as mercy and David and a son of David acting in similar ways by refusing to take life. The result of this mercy is that both protagonists in texts (A) and (B) are declared righteous.

Regarding the history of interpretation, we observe earlier interpreters like Chrysostom (*Hom. Matt.* 4.7)¹²¹ and Luther¹²² saw the merciful restraint of Joseph not wishing to disgrace or punish Mary as important in relation to his righteousness, yet only one interpreter that I know of has moved from these observations to suggest a parallel between Matt 1:19 and 1 Sam 24:17–18.¹²³ Finally, the potential intertext seems to enhance the reading of Matt 1:18–23 and Matt 2:1–25 as it helps elucidate Joseph as a character and generate an expectation of mercy and righteousness for other characters called “son of David” within the narrative. Given the parameters above, we can cautiously consider this to be an implied intertext with a reasonable amount of explanatory power and thematic congruence and significance.

121 While Chrysostom does not use the word “mercy” he notes Joseph's nobility and self-restraint by not exposing Mary to disgrace or death. For reference see Chrysostom, “Homilies on the Gospel of St. Matthew,” in *The Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, 28 vols. in 2 series, ed. Philip Schaff (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1956), 1/10:23.

122 Martin Luther, “The Christian in Society,” in *Luther's Works: American Edition*, 55 vols., eds. Jaroslav Pelikan and Helmut T. Lehmann (Philadelphia: Muehlenberg and Fortress, and St. Louis: Concordia, 1955–86), 46:300.

123 D.A. Carson, “Matthew,” in *The Expositors Bible Commentary: Matthew, Mark and Luke*, 12 vols., ed. Frank E. Gaebelein (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1984), 8:74.

6.3.8 *Conclusions and Narrative Implications*

In conclusion, we note some scholars treat δίκαιος in Matt 1:19 as strict law observance thus creating tension between Joseph's righteousness and his desire to send away Mary in secret. However, the syntax itself does not favor such a conclusion, nor does Matthew's narrative. I suggest δίκαιος in Matt 1:19 carries a richer sense of "righteousness" evidenced throughout Matthew's Gospel. Instead of strict observance of the law itself, which might cause others harm, righteousness for Matthew is an interpretation of YHWH's will represented in the law and recognition of YHWH's demand for ἔλεος concerning law observance. Given the choice of two interpretations of the law, one should choose the merciful one.¹²⁴ This seems to be the implication of the text's assertion that Joseph is unwilling to make a public spectacle of Mary and potentially expose her to harm. Such an understanding dovetails with the general view of righteousness in the genealogy.

Suppose Matthew 1:19 focuses on the mercy of Joseph, the son of David. In that case, the ideal reader is hardly surprised later in the narrative when two blind men call out, "have mercy on us Son of David" (Matt 9:27), nor when the Canaanite woman does the same thing (Matt 15:22). Matthew has already generated an expectation that a son of David shows mercy. Through Joseph, Jesus is a son of David, but he also acts like one because he is righteous and shows mercy. Joseph as a righteous and merciful son of David indicates to the ideal reader that δίκαιος and ἔλεος are closely connected in Matthew, a notion further substantiated in Matt 18:23-35 which tells the parable of the unmerciful servant. In fact, Matthew's Jesus may be viewed as promoting a merciful and righteous societal order that counters the one promulgated by the Herodians and the societal elites in Jerusalem.¹²⁵

¹²⁴ There is of course a third option, as noted by Esler, which is to do nothing and continue with the betrothal. This option, though, is not really related to an interpretation of the law per se. I do not follow Esler's view that a secret divorce cannot be secret because there are witnesses, and so the natural thing for Joseph to do is not to divorce Mary at all. It seems to me that "secret" in Matthew entails minimal witnesses, such as Herod calling for the wise men secretly. I mean, we have multiple parties included, and the author or Matthew seemingly has learned of this "secret" meeting. So, λαθραῖος/λάθρᾱ in Matthew cannot mean that no one will ever know and that we need no witnesses, which is what Esler suggests and finds impossible. More likely, λαθραῖος/λάθρᾱ carries the sense of being "furtive," trying to avoid notice or attention. See G.E. s.v. "λαθραῖος." Either way, Esler and I end up in much the same place because the choice to remain married, or the choice of minimal witnesses for a divorce, are both examples of merciful righteousness. For reference, see Esler, "The Righteousness of Joseph," 340-43.

¹²⁵ Warren Carter, "Love as Societal Vision and Counter-Imperial Practice," in *Biblical Interpretations in Early Christian Gospels: Volume 2 the Gospel of Matthew*, ed. Thomas Hatina, LNTS 310 (London: T&T Clark, 2008), 37-44.

The potential intertextual link between 1 Sam 24:18 and the larger segment of Matt 1:18–2:23 likely functions as a critique of Herod, who is anything but righteous and merciful. Later in the Gospel, the leaders of Israel, who have left Israel as sheep without a shepherd, are ultimately described as hypocrites who have neglected the law's weightier matters such as mercy. Matthew 1:19 thus primes the ideal reader to understand Jesus as a merciful and righteous royal Davidide who is the antithesis of his unmerciful opponents (Matt 23:23) who are told to go and learn what ἔλεος means (Matt 9:13; 12:7). The early contrast of kingdoms (Davidic vs. Herodian), even seems to fit together with Matthew's emphasis on the Kingdom of Heaven which is contrasted with earthly kingdoms throughout the Gospel.¹²⁶ The kingdom of Heaven reflects the rule of ὙΗΩΗ, who is merciful and compassionate (Exod 34:6).

Following Joseph, Jesus embodies righteousness and mercy and teaches it to his disciples because they are supposed to act likewise.¹²⁷ He does this because that is how ὙΗΩΗ treats humanity, as Eubank notes:

God manifested his generosity (χρηστότης), benevolence (φιλανθρωπία), and benefaction (εὐεργεσία) by having mercy – or, one might say, by giving alms (ἐλεέω). The alms given by God are his own Son, which he paid (ἀποδίδωμι) as the ransom price (λύτρον) in exchange (ἀνταλλαγή) for the sins of “many” (πολλοί).¹²⁸

By focusing on merciful actions pleasing to ὙΗΩΗ, Matthew participates in a general Judeo-Christian philosophy that says ὙΗΩΗ rewards merciful deeds.¹²⁹ David J. Downs argues early Christian texts reflect the notion that acts of kindness/mercy are encouraged and portrayed as something ὙΗΩΗ rewards eschatologically.¹³⁰ In Matthew, righteousness is supposed to be done “through deeds of mercy.”¹³¹ From a narrative standpoint, we may view Joseph's just and merciful behavior to Mary as priming the ideal reader to read the story in conversation with these larger motifs of kindness and mercy presented by Eubanks and Downs. The potential intertextual link to 1–2 Samuel via Joseph does not mitigate against understanding Joseph's righteousness and Mary's

¹²⁶ Pennington, *Heaven and Earth in the Gospel of Matthew*, 8–9.

¹²⁷ Eubank, *Wages of Cross-Bearing and Debt of Sin*, 168.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, 208.

¹²⁹ David J. Downs, *Alms: Charity, Reward, and Atonement in Early Christianity* (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2016), 273–78.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, 104.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, 113.

miraculous conception in light of Abrahamic themes as well.¹³² The incipit makes the reader aware that Davidic and Abrahamic motifs go hand in hand in the Gospel. How Matt 1:18-25 relates to chapter 2, which contains one of the three intertextual anchor points linking 1-2 Samuel and Matthew, remains to be seen.

6.4 1-2 Samuel in Matthew 2:6

One of the apparent occurrences of 1-2 Samuel appears in Matt 2:6 where we encounter a compound citation from Mic 5:1 and 2 Samuel 5:2.¹³³

καὶ σὺ Βηθλέεμ, γῆ Ἰούδα, οὐδαμῶς ἐλαχίστη εἶ ἐν τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν Ἰούδα
ἐκ σοῦ γὰρ ἐξελεύσεται ἡγούμενος, ὅστις ποιμανεῖ τὸν λαόν μου τὸν Ἰσραήλ.

While some scholars doubt the reference to 2 Sam 5:2 at the end of Matt 2:6,¹³⁴ a majority of scholars do see the intertextual link because the latter part of Matt 2:6 says the ruler out of Bethlehem shall ποιμανεῖ τὸν λαόν μου τὸν Ἰσραήλ which is almost a verbatim quote of the second person singular Greek version of 2 Sam 5:2 (ποιμανεῖς τὸν λαόν μου τὸν Ἰσραήλ).¹³⁵

Another semantic marker that ties Matt 2:6 to 2 Sam 5:2 is the word ἡγούμενος. In 2 Sam 5:2, the elders of the people of Israel echo YHWH's declaration to David that he shall shepherd his people and be εἰς ἡγούμενον ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰσραήλ (MT reads לְהָגִיד עַל-בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל). This word, ἡγούμενος/דָּגַג, is absent in Mic 5:1-3 which says from Bethlehem will come someone who rules.¹³⁶ In light of the strong lexical parallelism between Matt 2:6b and 2 Sam 5:2b, and the lack thereof between Matt 2:6b and Mic 5:1-3, we may conclude the potential intertextual link from Matt 2:6b probably is to 2 Sam 5:2.¹³⁷ Opposing voices,

¹³² Huizenga, *New Isaac*, 145.

¹³³ Maarten J.J. Menken, "Composite Citations in the Gospel of Matthew," in *Composite Citations in Antiquity: vol 2 New Testament Uses*, eds. Sean A. Adams and Seth M. Ehorn, LNTS 593 (London: T&T Clark, 2018), 38-40, 60.

¹³⁴ Piotrowski, *New David*, 73; Chae, *Jesus as the Eschatological Davidic Shepherd*, 177-79.

¹³⁵ It is assumed 1 Chr 11:2 is a restating of the existing material in 2 Sam 5:2. So even if one argues for an intertext to 1 Chr 11:2 one must also acknowledge the link to 2 Sam 5:2.

¹³⁶ The Hebrew uses a *qal* participle מְשִׁיב and the Greek says there will be someone εἰς ἄρχοντα ἐν τῷ Ἰσραήλ.

¹³⁷ Hagner, *Matthew 1-13*, 29; Evans, *Matthew*, 55; Woojin Chung, *Translation Theory and the Old Testament in Matthew: The Possibilities of Skopos Theory*, LBS 15 (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 97; Gundry, *The Use of Old Testament in St. Matthew*, 91-93; Nolland, *Matthew*, 115; Willitts, *Matthew's Messianic Shepherd-King*, 101; Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 1:243;

such as Nicholas Piotrowski, may be correct in that Matt 2:6 conflates Mic 5:1–3, but the ἡγούμενος link and the almost verbatim quote of 2 Sam 5:2b from the LXX/OG make it difficult to sustain such a position. Just because Piotrowski's explanation is simpler, in that we would only have to account for one inter-text, does not make it correct.¹³⁸ After all, compound citations are common in ancient literature,¹³⁹ including the New Testament.¹⁴⁰

6.4.1 Different Translations of 2 Sam 5:2 and Matt 2:6

Matthew's engagement with 2 Sam 5:2, as opposed to later traditions/receptions of it, becomes evident considering other translations and interpretations of 2 Sam 5:2 use the word "king" rather than "ruler/prince" (ἡγούμενος/נָגִיד). In the Targum of Samuel, we read David is chosen to be king over Israel (Tg. 2 Sam 5:2 **לְמַלְכָּא עַל יִשְׂרָאֵל**).¹⁴¹ Noticeably, we also see how the Targum has interpreted the phrase "shepherd my people" and rendered it "take care of my people Israel"¹⁴² (Tg. 2 Sam 5:2 **אֵת תְּפָרְנִיס יִת עִמִּי יִשְׂרָאֵל**), which substantiates the idea that shepherding connotes the ruler's responsibility to care for the wellbeing of the populace.

Another text which should not be ignored is the Hebrew (Shem-Tob) version of Matthew. Although Shem-Tob's manuscripts are quite a bit later than the earliest Greek ones, they likely contain a more ancient textual tradition¹⁴³ and are thus worth investigating. The Hebrew of Shem-Tob's Matthew 2:6 reads:¹⁴⁴

מִמֶּךָ לִי יֵצֵא לְהוֹיֹת מוֹשֵׁל בְּיִשְׂרָאֵל

It appears Shem-Tob follows the MT of Mic 5:1 closely and interestingly does not include the other citation from 2 Sam 5:2, which states the ruler is to shepherd the people. Shem-Tob does not use the word "king" (מֶלֶךְ) but rather prefers to use the word מוֹשֵׁל, as in Micah, which is rarely translated ἡγούμενος

Luz, *Matthew*, 1:113; Maier, *Das Evangelium des Matthäus*, 1:102–3; Joachim Gnllka, *Das Matthäusevangelium*, 2 vols., HThKNT (Freiburg: Herder, 1986–88), 1:39.

¹³⁸ Piotrowski appeals to Ockham's Razor. See Piotrowski, *New David*, 73.

¹³⁹ Sean A. Adams and Seth M. Ehorn, eds., *Composite Citations in Antiquity: Vol 1 Jewish, Graeco-Roman, and Early Christian Uses*, LNTS 525 (London: T&T Clark, 2016).

¹⁴⁰ Sean A. Adams and Seth M. Ehorn, eds., *Composite Citations in Antiquity: Vol 2 New Testament Uses*, LNTS 593 (London: T&T Clark, 2018).

¹⁴¹ Eveline van Staaldoune-Sulman, *The Targum of Samuel*, SAIS 1 (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 506.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, 506.

¹⁴³ George Howard, "Shem-Tob's Hebrew Matthew and Early Jewish Christianity," *JSNT* 70 (1998): 3–20.

¹⁴⁴ The Hebrew is derived from George Howard, *Hebrew Gospel of Matthew*, 2nd ed. (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1995), 6.

in the LXX/OG.¹⁴⁵ Piotrowski's argument is thus more feasible in Shem-Tob's version of Matt 2:6 than in the Greek New Testament text(s) of Matt 2:6. When we look at other translations, we see that the standard Vulgate Latin rendition of Matt 2:6 seems to retain the flavor of 2 Sam 5:2b from the MT and LXX/OG and reads:

Exod te enim exiet dux qui reget populum meum Israhel

This rendering is mostly faithful to the Vulgate translation of 2 Sam 5:2, which reads: *tu pasces populum meum Israhel et tu eris dux super Israhel*. The Latin has rendered the דָּוִד/ἡγούμενος of 2 Sam 5:2 and the ἡγούμενος of Matt 2:6 as “dux,” which is often translated “leader/chief/guide” although it can sometimes denote a military function.¹⁴⁶ Noticeably, the Vulgate translation of Matt 2:6 has changed the verb from “pasces” (2 Sam 5:2b) to “reget” (Matt 2:6), which highlights the shepherd-ruler metaphor. It is clear from the Vulgate that “shepherd” and “rule” function somewhat synonymously. However, in the earlier Latin work of Fortunatianus of Aquileia¹⁴⁷ Matt 2:6b reads as follows:

Exod te exiet princeps qui regat populum meum Israhel.

Here, Fortunatianus has a translation that differs slightly from Jerome's later edition. The main difference is the Latin translation of the Greek word ἡγούμενος, which Jerome translates “dux” but which Fortunatianus renders “princeps.” The word “princeps” has great semantic range, and can denote classes of legionary soldiers and lower-ranking centurions.¹⁴⁸ However, since the Magi are searching for the king of the Jews, and the text asks where this king is to be born, it makes better sense to view the title in a royal context where it, interestingly, is used of Augustus to denote the “non-military nature of his rule.”¹⁴⁹ Either Fortunatianus worked with various sources with a textual variant, or “dux” and “principes” could be used interchangeably. For when Fortunatianus later in his commentary summarizes a few points of Matt 2, he renders Matt 2:6b “*Exod te enim exiet dux, qui regat populum meum Israhel*.”¹⁵⁰ Both Fortunatianus' and Jerome's translations show “rule” functions synonymously with “shepherding.” What the various above translations indicate is that the Greek New Testament

145 Few exceptions occur in 2 Chron 7:18; 9:26; Hab 1:14.

146 OLD, s.v. “dux.”

147 Aquileiensis, *Commentarii in evangelia*, 130.

148 OLD, s.v. “principes².”

149 OLD, s.v. “principes².”

150 Aquileiensis, *Commentarii in evangelia*, 143.

of Matt 2:6b shows a close connection to the LXX/OG of 2 Sam 5:2b, which is a translation of a *Vorlage* quite similar to the MT, and Matt 2:6a is more closely related to the LXX/OG of Mic 5:1.¹⁵¹

Micah 5:1, 3 LXX/OG	Matt 2:6	2 Sam 5:2b LXX/OG
καὶ σὺ Βηθλέεμ οἶκος τοῦ Εφραθα ὀλιγοστός εἶ τοῦ εἶναι ἐν χιλιάσιν <i>Ιουδα</i> <i>ἐκ σοῦ μοι ἐξελεύσεται</i> τοῦ εἶναι εἰς ἄρχοντα ἐν τῷ Ἰσραηλ καὶ αἱ ἔξοδοι αὐτοῦ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἐξ ἡμερῶν αἰῶνος ...	καὶ σὺ Βηθλέεμ, γῆ Ἰούδα, οὐδαμῶς ἐλαχί- στη εἶ ἐν τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν <i>Ἰούδα· ἐκ σοῦ γὰρ ἐξελεύ- σεται ...</i>	
καὶ στήσεται καὶ ὄψεται καὶ <i>ποιμανεῖ</i> τὸ ποίμνιον αὐτοῦ	<i>ἡγούμενος, ὅστις ποι- μανεῖ τὸν λαόν μου τὸν</i> <i>Ἰσραήλ.</i>	καὶ εἶπεν κύριος πρὸς σέ σὺ <i>ποιμανεῖς τὸν λαόν μου</i> <i>τὸν Ἰσραηλ</i> καὶ σὺ ἔσει εἰς <i>ἡγούμενον ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰσραηλ</i>

But what are we to make of this compound citation/quote in Matt 2:6? Certainly, scholars have found this verse to be puzzling, and some even go so far as Charlene McAfee Moss who says, “we have no specific content of how Jesus is to be a shepherd-king.”¹⁵² Y.S. Chae says, “at this point in the narrative of the Gospel, however, it is unclear how and in what sense Jesus will shepherd YHWH’s flock of Israel.”¹⁵³ In light of these puzzlements, I propose we look to the concepts of metaphor, specifically Cognitive/Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) as espoused by George Lakoff and Mark Johnson, and intertextuality, to see whether Matt 2:6 has any explanatory power in the narrative.¹⁵⁴ In order to recognize a possible conceptual metaphor, we briefly need to remind ourselves of the shepherd imagery of the Jewish Scriptures and revisit how this image is evoked in 2 Sam 5:2.

¹⁵¹ Chung, *Translation Theory*, 186–89.

¹⁵² Charlene McAfee Moss, *The Zechariah Tradition in the Gospel of Matthew*, BZNW 156 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2008), 38.

¹⁵³ Chae, *Jesus as the Eschatological Davidic Shepherd*, 182.

¹⁵⁴ It is beyond the scope of this study to fully explicate CMT and cognitive linguistics. See George Lakoff and Mark Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2003).

6.4.2 2 Samuel 5:2

2 Samuel 5:2 shows David coming to Hebron to be anointed king of Israel. The elders of the people announce to David that even when Saul was king, it was David who “led them in and out” and that God had chosen David to be the ruler (ἡγοούμενον/ἡγῶν) and to shepherd his people Israel. 2 Samuel 5:2 functions as the narrative climax of Saul’s battle with David. Here, finally, David assumes the role which the ideal reader has anticipated since 1 Sam 16, and at his anointing David is compared¹⁵⁵ to Saul as it is explicitly stated that David performed the royal duties while Saul was technically still king.

While it is true that this text speaks of David’s military exploits, I hesitate to conclude that this text links David’s task of shepherding the people with his military prowess so we may speak of a shepherd-warrior as some scholars do.¹⁵⁶ As previously noted, shepherding as a metaphor for ruling YHWH’s people is not directly linked to David’s militaristic “leading in and out”¹⁵⁷ in 2 Sam 5:2, but rather indicates that because of his military exploits, he is now charged to shepherd YHWH’s people. Following the larger usage of shepherd language in comparable ANE texts, shepherding primarily means ruling righteously and administering justice.¹⁵⁸ If we follow this more common usage of shepherd language, then 2 Sam 5:2 vis-à-vis Matt 2:6 cannot be understood in militaristic terms and we can agree with Matthias Konradt who says: “Die militärische Konnotation, die der Reden vom „Weiden“ Davids in 2 Sam 5,2 innewohnt ..., spielt bei Matthäus überhaupt keine Rolle.”¹⁵⁹

Within the larger narrative context of 2 Samuel, we should note David ends up being portrayed as a protective shepherd¹⁶⁰ who intercedes for the sheep by sacrificing offerings to YHWH (2 Sam 24:25). Furthermore, 1-2 Samuel, epitomized in 2 Sam 8:15, highlight the king’s responsibility to ensure protection,

¹⁵⁵ Craig E. Morrison, *2 Samuel*, Berit Olam (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2013), 67–68.

¹⁵⁶ Hunziker-Rodewald, *Hirt und Herde*, 43; Willitts, *Matthew’s Messianic Shepherd-King*, 55–57.

¹⁵⁷ As section 4.2 shows, the leading in and out is divided by the disjunctive accent, *atnach*, in the MT. Also, I find it entirely possible and plausible that the military activity is one aspect of David’s legitimacy to power, whereas the shepherding ἡγῶν/ἡγοούμενος is what he is *now* meant to do in his new office. The shepherding imagery and military actions may be connected, but the grammatical structure of 2 Sam 5:2, as well as the thematic evidence from 1-2 Samuel and the evidence from other ANE texts, should make us hesitant to embrace Hunziker-Rodewald’s and Willitts’ notion that 2 Sam 5:2 portrays the ἡγῶν/ἡγοούμενος as a shepherding commander/warrior.

¹⁵⁸ Levinson, “The Reconceptualization of Kingship,” 516–17; Bar-Efrat, *Zweite Buch Samuel*, 90. Efrat’s note reads: “Die Hauptaufgabe des Königs ist es, für Recht und Gerechtigkeit einzutreten.”

¹⁵⁹ Konradt, *Studien zum Matthäusevangelium*, 155.

¹⁶⁰ Firth, *1-2 Samuel*, 547.

justice, and righteousness. Later biblical books such as Jeremiah and Ezekiel seem to pick up on the shepherd-ruler justice motif as the benchmark for true kingship.¹⁶¹

This brief review of shepherd language shows us the center of the larger cultural and narrative background to which Matt 2:6 alludes. CMT assumes that people think of abstract concepts in terms of metaphors.¹⁶² Within CMT the abstract concept (A) is elucidated via a more concrete concept (B).¹⁶³ Matthew 2:6 thus presents the coming messiah/ruler, which is an abstract concept because there is no consensus as to what that means,¹⁶⁴ in pastoral terms as someone who is going to shepherd YHWH's people. The shepherd imagery is a concrete and known concept within the cultural encyclopedia of Matthew's audience.¹⁶⁵ As such, CMT may be used to conceptualize what kind of messiah Jesus is, and how he will act in Matthew's narrative. Based on CMT, and the intertextual link between Matt 2:6 and 2 Sam 5:2, the Matthean messiah is thus one who shepherds like the idealized David of 1–2 Samuel. As the previous chapters have shown, the ideal Davidic shepherd-ruler reigns with justice and mercy and properly cares for the sheep. Following our sketch of 2 Sam 5:2, we may then again agree with Matthias Konradt regarding Matt 2:6:

Diese Stimme bringt allerdings nicht die aus der königlichen Messiaswartung vertrauten Fanfarenstosse politisch-militärischer Befreiungssymphonien zu Gehör, sondern die leiseren Töne der erbarmungsvollen Zuwendung zu den Menschen.¹⁶⁶

Taking an overview of the ancient Jewish cultural encyclopedia as it relates to shepherd-rulers, one discovers that Jesus fits into a conceptual

¹⁶¹ Auld, *1–11 Samuel*, 431.

¹⁶² Lakoff and Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By*, 3.

¹⁶³ Ronald W. Langacker, *Cognitive Grammar: A Basic Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 51; Lakoff and Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By*, 112; John R. Taylor, *Cognitive Grammar* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2003), 491.

¹⁶⁴ Klausner, *The Messianic Idea in Israel*, 26–237; Collins & Collins, *King and Messiah as Son of God*, 100; Kenneth E. Pomykala, “Messianism,” *EDEJ* 938–42; William Horbury, *Messianism Among Jews and Christians: Biblical and Historical Studies*, 2nd ed. (London: T&T Clark, 2016), 77–90; Matthew Novenson, *Grammar of Messianism: An Ancient Jewish Political Idiom and its Users* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 275.

¹⁶⁵ Vyvyan Evans and Melanie Green, *Cognitive Linguistics: An Introduction* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006), 206; Lakoff and Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By*, 57; Langacker, *Cognitive Grammar*, 39.

¹⁶⁶ Matthias Konradt, “Nehmt auf euch mein Joch und lernt von mir! (Matt 11,29). Matt 11,28–30 und die christologische Dimension der matthäischen Ethik,” *ZNW* 109 (2018): 17.

framework wherein a Davidic shepherd-ruler administers justice and rules in righteousness.¹⁶⁷ Other New Testament writers even frame David in similar terms of justice (Heb 11:33). Applying the tools of CMT and intertextuality to 2 Sam 5:2 vis-à-vis Matt 2:6 thus helps readers avoid the conundrum posed by scholars such as Moss and Chae, who see no explanatory power in Matt 2:6.¹⁶⁸ The evocation of 2 Sam 5:2 in Matt 2:6 ignites the ideal reader's cultural encyclopedia and fundamentally calls attention to the shepherd-ruler metaphor as used of David in 1–2 Samuel and the Jewish Scriptures.

6.4.3 *Matthew 2:6*

Matthean scholars tend to neglect 2 Sam 5:2 and interpret Matt 2:6 in light of various other Jewish Scriptures. Donald Hagner declares the messiah's task is to shepherd YHWH's people, recalling the statement in 1:21 that "he will save his people," which ultimately shows the people of the LORD are the people of the messiah.¹⁶⁹ Davies and Allison, as well as Nolland,¹⁷⁰ note that this passage invokes the Davidic messiah and the ingathering of the 12 tribes and refers to the promises not only in Ezek 34:4–16 but also Mic 5:1–9, Pss. Sol. 17, and 2 Baruch. While these insights are valid and useful, they seem to neglect how the messiah is going to accomplish these things and that Jesus is portrayed as going to the sheep rather than gathering them.¹⁷¹ The main question is then how Jesus is shepherding the people. In order to answer Chae and Moss, we must further investigate how this shepherding metaphor functions within Matthew's narrative, including how Jesus is portrayed as a Davidic messiah.

The subsequent question is how 1–2 Samuel fits into Matthew's narrative, especially into his unique introductory chapters. 2 Samuel 5:2 clearly compares David and Saul,¹⁷² a significant motif in 1–2 Samuel in general.¹⁷³ Further confirmation of a comparison occurs when 2 Sam 5:2b employs the word ἡγούμενος/ἡγῶν for David, a term which is consistently used in 1–2 Samuel to juxtapose David,

167 At least portions of the textual tradition portray David as such (2 Sam 8:15; 2 Sam 23:2–5).

168 Moss, *The Zechariah Tradition in the Gospel of Matthew*, 38; Chae, *Jesus as the Eschatological Davidic Shepherd*, 182.

169 Hagner, *Matthew 1–13*, 29–30.

170 Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 1:244; Nolland, *Matthew*, 115.

171 Willitts, *Matthew's Messianic Shepherd-King*, 218.

172 The highlighting of David's actions of true kingship while Saul was still technically king provides a poignant contrast between the two rulers in 2 Sam 5:2.

173 This larger comparison is even summarized in the last four chapters of 2 Samuel. See Paul Borgman, *David, Saul, and God: Rediscovering an Ancient Story* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).

the chosen one, with his opponents (2 Sam 6:21; 7:8–9).¹⁷⁴ One of the starkest examples of the comparisons between David and Saul is seen in the Nabal story, where Nabal functions as a narrative analogy to Saul, wherein David is first acknowledged as ἡγούμενος/ἡγῶν by Abigail (1 Sam 25:30).¹⁷⁵

Matthew likewise produces comparisons,¹⁷⁶ and I am persuaded by Anders Runesson's thesis, which says Matthew uses various tools in his narrative, such as typology and irony, to create comparative arguments.¹⁷⁷ Matthew compares his characters, groups, and sub-groups to each other and thereby judges them. Runesson suggests Jews and Gentiles are constantly compared in the Gospel.¹⁷⁸ I propose Matt 2:6 similarly compares Herod, Israel's de facto shepherd-ruler, to Israel's true shepherd-ruler, Jesus.¹⁷⁹

As we sketch Matthew's characters, we should note that Herod likely wants to be seen by his Jewish subjects as the successor of the glorious kings of the house of David who once ruled Israel.¹⁸⁰ Like the Maccabeans before him, Herod tries to link himself to the lineage of the famous King David.¹⁸¹ After all, Herod builds the temple like the perennial son of David, Solomon. Only Herod builds it bigger (*Ant.* 15.385). Indeed, Josephus' tale of Herod's speech to his countrymen regarding the temple (*Ant.* 15.380–87) shows him acting in a manner that would legitimize his reign as a Jewish ruler like Solomon.¹⁸² However, Matthew does not portray Herod as a just and compassionate son of David. In fact, the narrative juxtaposes Herod's corrupt and unjust rule, and

174 See also James W. Flanagan, "Chiefs in Israel," *JOT* 20 (1981): 68.

175 Gordon, "David's Rise and Saul's Demise," 41–43.

176 Willits, *Shepherd-King*, 98–99, 109; Cazeaux, *L'évangile selon Matthieu*, 41–73.

177 Runesson, *Divine Wrath*, 227, 358, 397, 405, 410.

178 For example, Jews are commanded not to pray like the Gentiles. Runesson, *Divine Wrath*, 348.

179 Following David R. Bauer, "The Kingship of Jesus in the Matthean Infancy Narrative: A Literary Analysis," *CBQ* 57 (1995): 307; F.P. Viljoen, "Power and Authority in Matthew's Gospel," *AcT* 31 (2011): 332–34. Joshua W. Jipp, *The Messianic Theology of the New Testament* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2020), 44–45; Baxter, "Whose King Is He Anyway?," 245–55.

180 Samuel Rocca, "Josephus and the Psalms of Solomon on Herod's Messianic Aspirations: An Interpretation," in *Making History: Josephus and Historical Method*, ed. Zuleika Rodgers, *JSJsup* 110 (Leiden, Brill: 2007), 327–28.

181 *Ibid.*, 315.

182 *Ibid.*, 314. See also Aryeh Kasher with the collaboration of Eliezer Witztum, *King Herod: A Persecuted Persecutor – A Case Study in Psychohistory and Psychobiography*, trans. Karen Gold, *SJ* 36 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2007), 215–17; Adam Kolman Marshak, *The Many Faces of Herod the Great* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2015), 279–84; Peter Richardson likewise surmises that Herod wanted to be seen as matching the great kingdoms of David and Solomon. For reference see Peter Richardson, *Herod: King of the Jews and Friend of the Romans* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1996), 316.

indeed Jerusalem,¹⁸³ with the just and righteous reign of Jesus of Bethlehem.¹⁸⁴ Shockingly, Matthew intimates that building the temple does not make one a Son of David, but being merciful and righteous does.

Matthew 2 portrays Herod as a tyrannical megalomaniac,¹⁸⁵ and one of the ways the tyranny comes across is in Matthew's comparison of Herod with Pharaoh, an unrighteous shepherd under whom the Hebrews had previously suffered (Exod 1:8-12). The comparison with Pharaoh emerges in Matt 2:15 when the reader encounters another fulfillment formula that ironically compares Herod's kingdom and Jerusalem to Egypt. Matthew 2:15 shows Jesus being led out of Israel and into Egypt,¹⁸⁶ ironically fulfilling what was written in the prophet, "out of Egypt I have called my son" (Hos 11:1). Herod, the child murderer, is thus compared to Pharaoh the infant killer (Exod 1:22). Some commentators note Matt 2:14-15 belongs properly with Matt 2:21 and that it is prematurely placed in the narrative.¹⁸⁷ But that robs the passage of its irony. Furthermore, other New Testament writings call Jerusalem a spiritual Egypt (Rev 11:8), which lends credibility to Matthew's ironic use of "out of Egypt I called my son" while the holy family is still in Israel and fearful of Herod, who reigns from Jerusalem. An intertextual and ironic reading thus indicates that Matthew's use of Hos 11:1 "inverts Egypt and Israel," a notion which dovetails with Hosea's larger critique of a failing Israel who has kept sacrificing to other gods and walked away from YHWH (Hos 11:2).¹⁸⁸ The ironic use of intertexts has

183 The "and all of Jerusalem with him" (2:2) indicates as much. Perhaps this is the narrative beginnings of the larger condemnation of Jerusalem, the city whose elite/rulers kills Jesus like they killed God's prophets of the past (Matt 23:37). Bauer notes, "Matthew speaks of Herod's men seeking (ζητουντες) the life of the child (2:20), even as he later describes the chief priests seeking (ζητουντες) to arrest Jesus (21:46), seeking an opportunity to deliver him up (26:16), and seeking false witnesses against him (26:59)." For reference see Bauer, "Kingship of Jesus," 317. For similar parallels see also Runesson, *Divine Wrath*, 103, 126-28, 167, 219-23, 231, 242-43, 302-3, 358.

184 Scott, "Birth of the Reader," 93-96; Baxter, "Whose King Is It Anyway?," 246-49. We may also note the comparison between two cities; Jerusalem and Bethlehem. Jerusalem the great city is condemned because "all Jerusalem" is disturbed with Herod regarding the news of the newborn king (Matt 2:3) whereas Bethlehem, an insignificant city, will produce the true ruler of YHWH's people (2:6).

185 Richard Horsley, *The Liberation of Christmas: The Infancy Narratives in Social Context* (New York: Continuum, 1993), 29.

186 Piotrowski, *New David*, 119.

187 Hagner, *Matthew 1-13*, 36.

188 Leroy Huizenga, "The Incarnation of the Servant: The 'Suffering Servant' and Matthean Christology," *HBT* 27 (2005): 42-43. Sébastien Doane likewise notes Judah functioning like Egypt in the narrative. For reference see Sébastien Doane, *Analyse de la réponse du lecteur aux origines de Jésus en Matthieu 1-2*, EB 81 (Leuven: Peeters, 2019), 216; Matthias Konradt also notes the geographical contrast between Egypt in Exod 4 and Matt 2 arguing that

already occurred in Matt 2:6 when Matthew reverses Bethlehem's status from being little amongst the clans (Micah 5:1–2) to being the opposite because the coming ruler of the people will come from there (Matt 2:6). The ironic use of intertexts in Matt 2:6 and 2:15 is thus in keeping with Matthean practice as well as other Jewish interpreters.¹⁸⁹

Jesus' escape infuriates Herod who orders the mass killing of infant boys, leading to another fulfillment formula taken from Jer 31:15. This quotation underscores Herod's brutality, injustice, and unrighteousness. And whereas some scholars declare the passage merely shows Jesus is not delivered unto his enemies,¹⁹⁰ I believe it deliberately compares two rulers or kinds of rule. Herod's rule is unjust and unrighteous, reflected by Matthew's allusion to the mourning and weeping in Jer 31:15, but Jesus' rule is, or perhaps more fittingly, will be, based on godly justice and righteousness because he shall shepherd the people as a Davidic ἡγούμενος.¹⁹¹

Herodian rule is thus critiqued in Matthew,¹⁹² which is hardly surprising given Matthew's general condemnation of poor leadership, including the bankrupt Jewish leadership (Matt 23:1–36).¹⁹³ Herod is characterized by brutality and violence, but so are some of the Jewish leaders. Just like Herod, some leaders persecute Jesus. Herod consequently becomes a literary model for the persecution Jesus and his followers will experience in the narrative.¹⁹⁴

While Herod becomes a literary point of comparison, one should note he may indicate a more subtle comparison and critique of the Roman Empire that ruled over Palestine at this time since it appointed Herod the Great as its vassal ruler.¹⁹⁵ Furthermore, Roman emperors and leaders have been known to annihilate perceived political threats based on celestial signs. For example, Suetonius reports that before Augustus' birth, an omen was delivered that a king was about to be born for Rome's people. Consequently, the Senate

"Egypt ... mutates into the place of Jesus' refuge." For reference see Konradt, *Matthew: A Commentary*, 32.

189 Allison, *Intertextual Jesus*, 192–97.

190 Müller, *Matthäusevangeliet*, 103.

191 We may note that Jer 31:18–20 provides a comparison as well. If the ideal reader knew of the larger context of Jer 31 she would likely see within the quote a natural segue to the merciful God represented in Jesus.

192 Viljoen, "Power and Authority," 342–43; Warren Carter, *Matthew and Empire: Initial explorations* (Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press International, 2001).

193 Konradt, *Studien zum Matthäusevangelium*, 158–59; Runesson, *Divine Wrath*, 219, 223, 245, 290, 301, 306, 317, 339.

194 Bauer, "The Kingship of Jesus," 315.

195 Eugene Eung-Chun Park, "Rachel's Cry for Her Children: Matthew's Treatment of the Infanticide by Herod," *CBQ* 75 (2013): 474–77.

decided no child should be nurtured¹⁹⁶ that year (*Aug.* 94:3). Perhaps less surprising is Suetonius' description of how Nero, upon learning of the significance of a comet in the sky, thought to signal the demise of great rulers, decided to execute his rivals before they killed him (*Ner.* 36). These traditions of Roman cruelty and the use of violence to preserve political power are not lost on the ideal reader of Matt 2 and only heighten the comparative element therein.

6.4.4 *Implied or Explicit Intertextuality*

Based on the brief excursus on CMT and semantic and thematic parallels, we now move on to analyze the proposed intertextual link between Matt 2:6 and 2 Sam 5:2.

1: Identify the marker(s) in (A) and (B)	The theme of comparison between David/son of David and another monarch. The lexical form in Matt 2:6b, which is verbatim like 2 Sam 5:2b LXX/OG, except Matthew lacks the final sigma in ποιμανεῖ(ς) τὸν λαόν μου τὸν Ἰσραήλ. Also, we have the <i>Stichwort</i> ἡγούμενον/ἡγούμενος in both text (A) and (B). Finally, we see that the text wants the reader to note an intertext because of the formula in 2:5: οὕτως γὰρ γέγραπται διὰ τοῦ προφήτου·
2: Identify text (B)	Based on step one, it seems clear that text (B) is 2 Sam 5:2b.
3: Actualization of evocation of text (B) in text (A)	2 Sam 5:2b (B) is evoked in Matt 2:6 (A) to aid in the critique of an unjust, unrighteous, and unmerciful ruler while also pointing to the ascendancy of a new, just, righteous, and merciful ruler.

Considering Hays' criteria, we note the proposed intertext was available, and Matthew could have intended it and its effects on the reader.

¹⁹⁶ The Latin reads *educō*, which pertains to the nurture and upbringing of children. See *OLD*, s.v. "educō."

The criterion of history of interpretation is satisfied, although older commentators like Jerome and Calvin note the link to Micah only.¹⁹⁷ However, we have already demonstrated why a composite citation to Micah 5:1 and 2 Sam 5:2 is more likely based on greater lexical parallels, a notion quite well accepted in modern scholarship.¹⁹⁸

The volume criterion is satisfied as the potential intertext is accompanied by formulaic citation language and strong lexical parallels in terms of word order and a unique *Stichwort*. While Matthew does not allude to the same passage elsewhere, thus leaving the criterion of recurrence mostly unsatisfied, he does link to other parts of 1–2 Samuel throughout the Gospel. Regarding the criteria of coherence and satisfaction, we note that the intertext fits the theme of Matthew chapter 2 and clearly enhances the meaning of the passage as it helps explain how Jesus will act within the narrative. Moreover, the intertextual interplay between Matt 2:6 and 2 Sam 5:2 also highlights a shared theme in both narratives, namely a clash between two royal houses. Eugene Boring notes:

The status quo ruler attempts to destroy the new king, but God's intervention preserves him and establishes his throne. This, too, is parallel to the Davidic paradigm, in which the unlikely shepherd boy was already the anointed king of God's people even though he was not yet acknowledged as Israel's actual ruler, and the old regime continued (1 Sam 8–2 Sam 7). Matthew's readers can recognize in this pattern not only the story of Jesus, but their own situation. They believe Jesus is already God's anointed Messiah, but the world goes on as before under the apparent control of this-worldly rulers. The confession that Jesus is the Christ is an affirmation about who is ultimately in control of the world.¹⁹⁹

The significant explanatory power of the intertext will be more thoroughly investigated in the conclusion of this chapter. Given the reasonably successful satisfaction of Hays' various criteria, the proposed intertext can be considered explicit.

197 Jerome, *Commentary on Matthew*, trans. Thomas P. Scheck, FC 117 (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 2008), 65; Calvin, *Commentary on a Harmony of the Evangelists*, 1:119.

198 Gundry, *The Use of Old Testament in St. Matthew*, 91–93; Nolland, *Matthew*, 115; Willitts, *Matthew's Messianic Shepherd-King*, 101; Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 1:243; Luz, *Matthew*, 1:103; Hagner, *Matthew 1–13*, 29; Maier, *Das Evangelium des Matthäus*, 1:102–103.

199 M. Eugene Boring, "Matthew's Narrative Christology: Three Stories," *Int* 64 (2010): 364.

One must not forget that the intertextual link to 2 Sam 5:2b is placed alongside another intertext, Mic 5:1-3. Then, the question is how these two intertexts, in a compound citation, work together in Matt 2:6. The intertext to 2 Sam 5:2b highlights proper shepherding (rule) and mercy and helps create a comparative framework between a just and unjust ruler. Mic 5:1-4 likewise portrays an ideal Davidic ruler who will act on behalf of YHWH and mediate his rule in the land, which in its own context likely “implies a rejection of the current ruler.”²⁰⁰ Like the passage in 2 Sam 5:2b, Mic 5:3 reflects the shepherd-ruler metaphor²⁰¹ as it says the ruler will shepherd (ποιμανεῖ/הִנִּיחַ) by the might of YHWH. This kind of rule, exemplified in its messianic ruler, is meant to bring peace (Mic 5:4).²⁰²

However, Mic 4:13 certainly indicates that peace is brought through military activity, and the peace to come in Mic 5 can thus be realized because of warfare against the nations.²⁰³ While one may surmise this kind of military emphasis in Mic 4, several scholars see Micah as objecting to stark militarism because peace will not come from violent resistance.²⁰⁴ Instead, Mic 5:4-5 suggests the way to overcome the Assyrians, even if they are merely a general representation of an enemy, is by spiritual means.²⁰⁵ Mic 5 indicates that victory is guaranteed by YHWH alone, not through a militaristic messiah.²⁰⁶ Indeed, Mic 5 suggests that the coming Davidic messiah is not a warrior-king but “a dispenser of justice.”²⁰⁷

When we understand Matthew is mixing these two texts, it becomes increasingly difficult to sustain Willitts’ and Baxter’s assertion that 2 Sam 5:2 reflects a militaristic ruler. Reading these passages as complimentary in their emphases on a just Davidic shepherd makes better sense. Both 2 Sam 5:2 and Mic 5:1-4 juxtapose a just, pious, and peaceful ruler who will shepherd YHWH’s people properly with other corrupt, unjust, and militaristic rulers. The point is that while the larger contexts of 2 Sam 5 and Mic 4-5 contain militaristic motifs, the specific mention of a chosen messianic ruler who shepherds is not directly related to the militarism of the texts but rather to the broader and primary

200 Delbert R. Hillers, *Micah*, Hermeneia (Philadelphia, PA: Fortress, 1984), 66.

201 Gundry notes “shepherding” links Mic 5:3 and 2 Sam 5:2. See Gundry, *The Use of Old Testament in St. Matthew*, 92-3.

202 Hillers, *Micah*, 67.

203 Marvin Sweeney, “Micah’s Debate with Isaiah,” *JOT* 93 (2001): 120, 122.

204 Daniel L. Smith-Christopher, *Micah: A Commentary*, OTL (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox, 2015), 26-31, 164-71.

205 Jan A. Wagenaar, *Judgement and Salvation: The Composition and Redaction of Micah 2-5*, VTSup 85 (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 290-301.

206 Bruce K. Waltke, *A Commentary on Micah* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2007), 272.

207 Gregory Goswell, “Davidic Rule in the Prophecy of Micah,” *JOT* 44 (2019): 154.

responsibility of political administration, that is, the responsibility to procure welfare and justice.²⁰⁸

It may also be appropriate to consider Mic 5:1b to be a reference to the rule of David, which functions as the ideal kingship by the Deuteronomistic historian(s)²⁰⁹ and several other traditions.²¹⁰ The similar phrase (ἡμέραι τοῦ αἰῶνος/עולם, כימי), also found in Mic 7:14, indicates this idiom refers not to a mythological *Urzeit* but to a recognizable time in Israel's past.²¹¹ It seems entirely plausible that Micah, with its Davidic shepherd imagery, recalls the promise YHWH made to David in 2 Sam 7.²¹² If so, it helps us understand why Matthew has combined these two Jewish Scriptures, namely, because they both evoke a tradition of the old days when David ruled in justice and righteousness (2 Sam 8:15).

This is not to say Mic 5:1–4 does not carry deeper connotations in Matthew. The above statements are just to highlight how 2 Sam 5:2 and Mic 5:1–4 agree on a broader level. Piotrowski has deftly illustrated how Matt 2:6's engagement with Micah also carries connotations of a return from exile and the ingathering of Gentiles.²¹³ I do not dispute Piotrowski's findings but merely wish to emphasize the other intertext in Matt 2:6, namely 2 Sam 5:2b, and recognize that Matt 2:6 intends for this compound citation to be understood in light of both intertexts from the Jewish Scriptures.

6.4.5 *Conclusions and Narrative Implications*

It appears the Jewish Scriptures understand the primary duty of a ruler who shepherds YHWH's people to be the proper administering of justice.²¹⁴ 1–2 Samuel, including 2 Sam 5:2, fits into this overall scheme and suggest David is YHWH's chosen shepherd-ruler meant to bring justice and righteousness. Consequently, it is entirely fair for the ideal readers of Matt 2:6, a segment steeped in shepherd-ruler language and allusions to the Davidic line, to understand the text to be about a just and righteous ruler.²¹⁵

208 Annelle Sabanal, "The Motif of 'Shepherds' and Politics in the Hebrew Prophets" (PhD. diss., University of Edinburgh, 2017), 99.

209 Joseph, *Portrait of the Kings*, 5, 53–58, 77–105.

210 Zacharias, *Matthew's Presentation of the Son of David*, 64.

211 See also Amos 9:11 and Mal 3:4.

212 Philip Peter Jenson, *Obadiah, Jonah, Micah: A Theological Commentary*, LHBOTS 496 (London: T&T Clark, 2008), 157.

213 Piotrowski, *New David*, 83–87.

214 Levinson, "Reconceptualization of Kingship," 315–7; Bar Efrat, *Zweite Buch Samuel*, 90.

215 Contra Willits, I do not see how the use of γῆ in Matt 2:6 triggers hope for territorial restoration. Just because the word "land" is used does not mean it triggers restoration motifs. In my reading, the primary focus of the evocation of 2 Sam 5:2b within the larger

Using CMT, we understand the abstract concept of the coming ruler via the concrete concept of shepherding. This conceptual metaphor says a ἡγούμενος is to shepherd YHWH's people, which means ruling with justice and righteousness.²¹⁶ The emphasis on David and 1-2 Samuel does not negate or diminish the links to Moses and the Exodus,²¹⁷ rather they seem to work in tandem.²¹⁸

Thus, we may conclude that Matt 2:6, via its intertextual interplay with 2 Sam 5:2b where David is portrayed as a shepherd-ruler, teaches the ideal reader about justice and righteousness since these are the primary responsibilities of ancient rulers, especially when they are called shepherds. We can also conclude that the themes of justice, righteousness, and mercy emerge in Matthew's introductory chapters. As YHWH's chosen ruler, echoing the Deuteronomistic ἡγούμενος in 1-2 Samuel, Jesus is ushering in a rule that is unlike Herod's or that of any other unrighteous regent. Jesus promotes a kingdom of justice and righteousness, like the idealized image of his forefather David in 1-2 Samuel. Jesus prays to usher in the kingdom of heaven (Matt 6:10), which is fundamentally based on mercy, justice, and righteousness. By applying CMT, we see Matthew employing a metaphor that continues to give meaning to his narrative and which helps the ideal readers make better sense of Matthew's scathing judgments against the unmerciful and unjust Herod, Pharisees, and Roman Empire.²¹⁹ Indeed, Wayne Baxter notes the shepherd motif of Matt 2:6 indicates YHWH has appointed Jesus to "replace Herod and the Jerusalem leadership."²²⁰ The focus is indeed on present circumstances. Jesus is going to replace the current leaders, and I must then disagree with Willits who believes Matt 2:6 evokes notions of the future eschatological Empire of YHWH.²²¹ These

comparative context of Matthew chapter 2 relates to just kingship, not territory. For reference see Willits, *Matthew's Messianic Shepherd-King*, 108. William Loader likewise does not think Matthew has land and liberation as his focus in Matt 1-2 whereas Luke does via his "freedom songs in the infancy narrative." For reference see William Loader, "What Light does Matthew's use of Mark in Matthew 1-4 throw on Matthew's Theological Location?" *HvTst* 72, no. 4 (2016): 2.

216 Bauer, "The Kingship of Jesus," 315.

217 Allison, *New Moses*, 194-205; Dahl, *Matteusevangeliet*, 36.

218 Allison, *New Moses*, 35-38, 194-205.

219 While direct confrontation is debatable, Matthew chapter 2 and the Roman appointed Herod, as well as Pilate's failed attempt at justice in chapter 27, seem to indicate condemnation of Roman rule. For further counternarratives and critiques of Rome in Matthew see Carter, *Matthew and Empire*, 169-79.

220 Baxter, *Israel's Only Shepherd*, 198.

221 Willits, *Matthew's Messianic Shepherd-King*, 176.

notions, if present at all, would then be buried deep within a text that is *prima facie* about Jesus replacing “those who currently lead.”²²²

A better reading of Matthew’s shepherd language sees it functioning as a critique of the current political and religious leaders’ inability to shepherd ὙΗΩΗ’s people properly. Jesus heals people out of compassion, and he pities people because the current shepherds have not adequately tended to the flock. As the true shepherd-ruler, Jesus has compassion on the shepherd-less people and administers heavenly justice and righteousness to the people (Matt 9:35–36) and teaches and equips his disciple to do likewise (Matt 10:1). This is how Jesus shepherds, and this is how one can respond to McAfee and Chae’s quandaries about the shepherd language in Matt 2:6.

The conceptual framing of Jesus as a Davidic shepherd-ruler in the introductory chapters may also help readers better understand later stories in the Gospel of Matthew, such as Jesus’ request to his disciples to take his yoke (Matt 11:28–30), as well as the grain picking on the Sabbath in Matthew 12 which alludes to 1 Sam 21:6. The invitation to carry Jesus’ yoke has monarchical connotations (1 Kgs 12:4, 9–11; Pss. Sol. 17:30). Konradt believes Jesus offers his yoke because he is meek,²²³ which fits into Matthew’s larger portrayal of Jesus’ messianic rule. The yoke of the Davidic messiah is mild, and he is concerned with mercy. This mild and merciful messianic theme spans into Matt 12:1–14 and Matt 12:18–21. In these pericopae, Jesus, like David, provides not only for himself but also for his followers.

While the yoke pericope certainly evokes the wisdom motif of Sirach 51,²²⁴ Konradt prudently suggests it is merely *an* evocation.²²⁵ Konradt further notes Jesus’ request that his followers take upon themselves his yoke is based upon his own meekness, saying; “und diese Aufforderung findet darin ihre Begründung, dass der messianische König Jesus mit Sanftmut regiert und das Joch seiner Herrschaft entsprechend mild ist.”²²⁶ By allowing for Konradt’s suggestion, we also permit Matthew to continue his rich mixture of citations, allusions, and themes because we do not limit the yoke to allude only to a wisdom motif. In fact, the occurrence of the compound citation from Micah 5 and 2 Samuel 5 frames Israel’s hope within a “bukolisches Heilsbild”²²⁷ just as in the older Jewish Scriptures.

²²² Baxter, *Israel’s Only Shepherd*, 131.

²²³ Konradt, “die christologische Dimension der matthäischen Ethik,” 18.

²²⁴ Ben Witherington III, *Matthew* (Macon, GA: Smyth & Helwys Publishing, 2006), 239; Harrington, *Matthew*, 168; Evans, *Matthew*, 247; Müller, *Matthäusevangeliet*, 289.

²²⁵ Konradt, “die christologische Dimension der matthäischen Ethik,” 24.

²²⁶ *Ibid.*, 24.

²²⁷ Hunziker-Rodewald, *Hirt und Herde*, 86.

The focus on justice and mercy in the introductory chapters culminates in the portrayal of Jesus as a Davidic shepherd-ruler, via a quotation of Isaiah 42, which presents Jesus as YHWH's servant who is meant to proclaim justice (κρίσις) to the nations by the power of the Spirit (Matt 12:18).²²⁸ This Spirit-infused leadership is conceptually analogous to the charismatic endowment of the Spirit on Saul and David (1 Sam 10:6, 10; 11:6; 16:13). Matthew 12:11–20 also contains blends of 1–2 Samuel along with another prophetic writing, which seems to be part of Matthew's mixing of the Jewish Scriptures to evoke thematic, typological, and theological points within his own narrative.²²⁹

6.5 Summary of 1–2 Samuel in Matthew 1–4

The implied intertext between Matt 1:6 and the story of David, Bathsheba, and Uriah (2 Sam 11:3; 12:24) showed a somewhat ironic use of intertexts. By focusing on Uriah's superior behavior, coupled with the just actions of the other women in the genealogy, righteousness emerges as a central theme in Matthew. Apparently, righteousness can be found in Gentiles. Indeed, they can even outshine Jewish paragons like David, which is ironic given Matthew's focus on Jesus as a son of David.

The potential implied intertextual interplay between Matt 1:19–20 and 1 Sam 24:18 LXX/OG likewise connects David and righteousness. In this instance, Joseph is portrayed as a righteous son of David who, based on his interpretation of the law, considers a merciful divorce from Mary before being told to remain with her. This intertext highlights David as righteous, as opposed to the previous one. The explicit intertextual link between Matt 2:6 and 2 Sam 5:2b frames Jesus as a divinely appointed ἡγούμενος who is to shepherd the people of Israel. Much like the larger context of shepherd language in 2 Sam 5:2 and the rest of the Jewish Scriptures, shepherding is fundamentally about procuring justice and generally providing for the people's welfare and flourishing. Given the structural cohesion of Matt 1:18–2:23, it seems likely that Matthew is comparing the unjust current leadership with the new rule coming in and through Jesus that is based on justice and mercy. An intertextual reading thus helps readers make better sense of Matthew's women in the genealogy, Joseph's

228 The messiah ushering in the just rule of God necessitates mercy towards people. See Richard Beaton, "Messiah and Justice: A Key to Matthew's Use of Isaiah 42. 1–4?" *JSNT* 75 (1999): 22; Beaton, *Isaiah's Christ*, 44–85.

229 Robert Jarrett Van Tine, "Intertextual Layering as a Method for Reading Matthew," (paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the SBL, Denver, CO, November 18 2018).

righteousness, the compound citation in Matt 2:6, and it brings to the fore vital theological motifs in Matthew's Gospel.

The appendix contains four potential occurrences of 1–2 Samuel in Matt 1–4 that were deemed too spurious to include. The more pressing issue, though, is whether the initial focus on righteousness, mercy, and Jesus as a Davidic shepherd-ruler continues to be informed by the occurrence of 1–2 Samuel in Matt 5–20. To this we now turn.

1–2 Samuel in Matthew 5–20

7.1 1–2 Samuel in Matt 9:13 vis-à-vis Matt 9:27, 36

The motif of mercy (ἔλεος), which we encountered in the previous chapter, is reiterated in the famous Sermon on the Mount (Matt 5:7) where it plays a substantial role.¹ In other words, the ideal readers are not surprised when mercy becomes central in Jesus' teaching (Matt 5–7) because chapters 1–4 have already primed them. Thus, the theme of mercy continues throughout Matthew and resurfaces again in 9:13, closely associated with forgiveness, a consistent thematic match within the Gospel itself.²

Chapter nine constitutes an important segue in Matthew as Jesus returns to his home region (Matt 9:1) and performs miracles as the son of David (Matt 9:27) as well as having compassion for the people because he realizes they are like sheep without a shepherd (Matt 9:36). Matthew 9:27–36 is couched explicitly in Davidic shepherd imagery,³ but all of Jesus' activities in chapter 9 might reasonably be seen in light of his merciful acts of calling and healing as the promised Davidic shepherd.⁴ Furthermore, the singular shepherd that the people have been missing (Matt 9:36) seems to refer back to Matt 2:6 and Jesus' identity as a Davidic ruler who is to shepherd Israel.⁵ Matthew 9 is thematically connected to chapter 10, wherein the disciples are commissioned to go to the lost sheep of Israel (Matt 10:6), which signifies the disciples of Jesus are meant to replace the current poor shepherds.⁶ I find it unpersuasive that the reference to the people being without a shepherd (Matt 9:36) means the "absence of

1 Charles Nathan Ridlehoover, *The Lord's Prayer and the Sermon on the Mount in Matthew's Gospel*, LNTS 616 (London: T&T Clark, 2019). Ridlehoover specifically notes: "It is therefore incumbent upon those who profess the Father as king to make forgiveness and mercy a hallmark of their witness." For reference see Ridlehoover, *The Lord's Prayer*, 160.

2 Ibid., 168.

3 Jipp, *The Messianic Theology of the New Testament*, 48–49.

4 John Paul Heil, "Ezekiel 34 and the Narrative Strategy of the Shepherd and Sheep Metaphor in Matthew," *CBQ* 55 (1993): 700–1; Chae, *Jesus as the Eschatological Davidic Shepherd*, 232–33, 254, 278, 307, 324–25; Baxter, *Israel's Only Shepherd*, 148–49.

5 Luz, *Matthew*, 2:64–65. Chae also notes the shepherding parallel between Matt 2:6 and 9:36. For reference see Chae, *Jesus as the Eschatological Davidic Shepherd*, 212.

6 Willitts, *Matthew's Messianic Shepherd-King*, 121.

a *royal military figure*.⁷ As previously mentioned,⁸ this conclusion too hastily accepts Hunziker-Rodewald's inference. In fact, such a conclusion overlooks the sacral element of the מֶלֶךְ title, the grammar of 2 Sam 5:2, which disassociates the leading out and in with shepherding as a ἡγούμενος/מֶלֶךְ, as well as the fecund evidence within an ANE and Jewish scriptural context that indicates a shepherd-king's primary responsibility is to ensure justice and welfare for the populace. Furthermore, we must realize the underlying influence of Davidic shepherd language, as well as Jesus' immediate concern with physical and spiritual healing as a compassionate and merciful shepherd in Matt 9,⁹ derives mainly from passages like Ezek 34.¹⁰

Thus, an overarching motif in Matt 9:9–10:8 is that of a Davidic shepherd,¹¹ and it is within this setting we must try to decide if 1–2 Samuel comes to bear in the form of intertexts. Some interpreters perceive a possible link between Matt 9:13 and 1 Sam 15:22.¹² Thus, the first step is to investigate the two texts for potential thematic, theological, and lexical links. Just because Ezek 34 is a likely backdrop for Jesus' healing activities in Matt 9 does not mean Isaiah's prophecies of healing are excluded,¹³ nor that other intertexts are excluded just because Matt 9:13 seems to cite Hos 6:6. As we have seen, Matthew's Gospel is full of mixed citations and allusions that work together for powerful narrative and theological effect. In fact, Hosea 6:6 might provide the ideal reader a window to 1 Sam 15:22 if we heed the words of Francis I. Andersen and David Noel Freedman who say: "It seems certain that Hosea has in mind the oracle of Samuel in 1 Sam 15:22–23."¹⁴ The violent notion of cutting down people in

7 Willitts, *Matthew's Messianic Shepherd-King*, 122. Emphasis original.

8 See chapter 4.2–4.2.1 of this study.

9 Chae, *Jesus as the Eschatological Davidic Shepherd*, 205; Luz, *Matthew*, 2:52, 2:65.

10 J.R.C. Cousland, *The Crowds in the Gospel of Matthew*, NovTSup 102 (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 90; Chae, *Jesus as the Eschatological Davidic Shepherd*, 209; Konradt, *Israel, Kirche und die Völker*, 39.

11 Ulrich Luz notes that Matthew 9 is a key part of how Matthew tells "who the Son of David is." For reference see Luz, *Matthew*, 2:48; Konradt, *Israel, Kirche und die Völker*, 38–40, 46–47; Zacharias, *Matthew's Presentation of the Son of David*, 79–83; Cazeaux, *Matthieu*, 215–18; Chae, *Jesus as the Eschatological Davidic Shepherd*, 207–8; Willitts, *Matthew's Messianic Shepherd-King*, 117–127.

12 NA²⁸, 24; Craig Blomberg, "Matthew" in *Commentary on the New Testament Use of the Old Testament*, eds. G.K. Beale and D.A. Carson (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2007), 34.

13 Wayne Baxter, "Healing and the 'Son of David': Matthew's Warrant," *NovT* 48 (2006): 36–50.

14 Francis I. Andersen and David Noel Freedman, *Hosea: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB 24 (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1980), 431. For a similar view see Martin J. Buss, *The Prophetic Word of Hosea: A Morphological Study*, BZAW 111 (Berlin: Alfred Töpelmann, 1969), 104.

Hos 6:5 further creates a context that alludes to 1 Sam 15:22, 33.¹⁵ A reason to investigate 1 Sam 15:22 is because it is part of the larger literary context of Hos 6:6, which Matthew cites. The deeper evocation of 1 Sam 15:22 via Hos. 6:6 in Matt 9:13 creates a parallel between Saul, who relies on sacrifice, and the Pharisees, who are exhorted to learn what it means that YHWH desires mercy above sacrifice.

7.1.1 *1 Sam 15:22 in Its Own Context*

In 1 Samuel 15:22, Samuel chastises Saul for not obeying YHWH's words and instead trying to placate him by presenting a sacrifice. This occurrence takes place within the context of Saul failing to utterly destroy the Amalekites by deciding to spare Agag and the choicest livestock, presumably due to greed in Saul and his men.¹⁶ After failing to do as YHWH commands, Saul proceeds to tell Samuel that he did indeed obey the LORD even though Samuel has been told the truth by YHWH (1 Sam 15:8–13). Ultimately, Samuel condemns Saul by asking what YHWH's greatest wish is: sacrifice or listening to his voice (1 Sam 15:22)? Because Saul disobeys YHWH, he loses the crown (1 Sam 15:35).

Chapter 15 thus presents the ultimate rejection of Saul as king because of his lack of faithfulness to YHWH. Saul's failure elicits the prophet's devastating answer that the kingdom has been given to someone better (הַטֹּב מִמֶּנִּי/τὸ ἀγαθὸν ὑπὲρ σέ; 1 Sam 15:28). The tearing of the robe and the contrast of Saul with one better than him likely has intratextual links to 1 Sam 24:11, 16. While a fully-fledged comparison is perhaps untenable,¹⁷ it seems apt that a comparative framework might be at play in this chapter, contrasting Saul's half-hearted obedience and sacrifice with YHWH's yet-to-be-anointed, and better, ruler.¹⁸

7.1.2 *Matthew 9:13 in Its Own Context*

Like in 1 Sam 15:22, the opponents of YHWH's chosen ruler are portrayed negatively in Matt 9. While Saul is criticized for trying to placate YHWH with sacrifices rather than obedience, so too the Pharisees of Matt 9 are harangued for a similar offense, namely by focusing on sacrifice above mercy. A significant theme in Matt 9 is healing, and Matthew presents various stories of Jesus' healing activities, which he seems to adopt and modify from Mark.¹⁹ Matthew sometimes shortens and smoothes out the Markan stories, and other times he

15 Francis Landy, *Hosea*, Readings, 2nd ed. (Sheffield: Phoenix Press, 2011), 80–81.

16 Firth, *1–2 Samuel*, 173.

17 Bodner, *1 Samuel*, 164–65.

18 Auld, *1–11 Samuel*, 181.

19 Evans, *Matthew*, 199–210; Harrington, *Matthew*, 133.

adds, such as when he adds the verse from Hos 6:6 urging the Pharisees to learn what it means when YHWH says: ἔλεος θέλω καὶ οὐ θυσίαν (Matt 9:13).

Jesus' activities of healing, forgiving, and calling sinners and other outcasts are thus portrayed as acts of mercy in Matt 9.²⁰ The Pharisees are cast as lacking this central tenet of righteousness. Otherwise, Matthew would not have told his audience their righteousness needs to exceed that of the Pharisees (Matt 5:20).²¹ Their lack of compassion and mercy has resulted in people being like sheep without a shepherd. Jesus considers the status quo unacceptable, so he teaches, heals, and commissions his disciples to do likewise (Matt 9:37–10:1).²²

Jesus' statement is not meant to indicate the abolition of cultic sacrifice but to reiterate that following the law without mercy, as discussed when covering Matt 1:18–23, is unacceptable and that proper adherence to the law is rooted in mercy.²³ Matthew 9:13, drawing on Hos 6:6, seems to indicate YHWH desires mercy above sacrifice.²⁴ However, Matthew's original audience would likely have understood acts of compassion, in the possible absence of the temple, similarly to sacrificial acts.²⁵ Sirach 35:1–2 indicates practicing acts of grace (χάρις) and benevolence/almsgiving (ἐλεημοσύνη) count as a sacrificial offering, and 4QMMT C 31 (4Q399) likewise reckons righteousness to one who does what is right before YHWH. Interestingly, the Testament of Zebulun indicates acting mercifully protects people from illness (*T. Zeb* 5:7–4), pertinent to the occurrence of the concept of mercy in the healing stories of Matt 9.

Jesus' words indicate that his community, and by extension the Matthean community, should be characterized by acts of mercy. Such actions serve as a benchmark both for those in the community and those perceived to be outside opponents.²⁶ Matthew 9:13 further highlights the words θέλω and θυσία and

20 F.P. Viljoen, "Hosea 6:6 and identity formation in Matthew," *AcT* 34 (2014): 220.

21 Carson, "Matthew," 225.

22 In the commissioning of the disciples, Keener notes a conceptual parallel to how Samuel trained a prophetic movement (1 Sam 3:1; 19:20–24). For reference see Keener, *Matthew*, 310. However, this suggestion is typological rather than strictly intertextual since the proposed intertext does not share any lexical markers with Matthew. Thus, the proposed link will not be pursued further.

23 David L. Turner, *Matthew*, BECNT (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2008), 254; Boris Repschinski, *The Controversy Stories in Matthew's Gospel: Their Redaction, Form and Relevance for the Relationship Between the Matthean Community and Formative Judaism*, FRLANT 189 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000), 79.

24 Luz, *Matthew*, 2:34.

25 Eric Ottenheim, "The Shared Meal – a Therapeutic Device: The Function and Meaning of Hos 6:6 in Matt 9:10–13," *NovT* 53 (2011): 17; Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 2:105.

26 Viljoen, "Hosea 6:6 and identity formation in Matthew," 233.

places these concepts in a series of healing stories wherein Jesus is challenged by certain Pharisees who lack mercy and understanding. Even though the primary reference is Hos 6:6, one should recognize that this intertext contains within itself an additional layer, namely an evocation of 1 Sam 15:22.²⁷ This kind of intertextual interplay is called “double allusion,” “double reference,” or “window reference”²⁸ by scholars and means to convey that while Matthew may have a direct intertextual link to Hos 6:6, said direct intertext might also contain an indirect intertextual link via its own allusion to 1 Sam 15:22. We shall see similar window references in Matt 21:1-5 and Matt 27:43-51. The intertextual methodology of this project necessitates a full range of intertextual tools, including the exploration of possible double allusions or window references. Since 1 Sam 15:22 is a window reference, we shall mark it (C) since the direct link (B) is Hos 6:6.²⁹ The premise of a window reference is that an intertextual link does not have to be between just two texts: A → B. Rather, intertextual layering might mean that the textual relationship goes A → B → C. In this case, Matt 9:13 is (A), Hos 6:6 is (B), and 1 Sam 15:22 is (C).

Because this is the first instance of a window reference, I will briefly outline how Matthew could have intended this kind of intertextual understanding by showing how other prior and contemporary Jewish authors engaged in similar layered hermeneutics. In the Jewish Scriptures, it seems likely that a window reference occurs in Ps 105:11 where the words “allotted heritage” link to Deut 32:9, which then further link to Gen 17:8.³⁰ The reader is thus invited to keep in mind both Deuteronomy 32 and Genesis 17 when reading Psalm 105:11. Furthermore, Gary Schnittjer illustrates how the words “from sea to sea and from the river to the ends of the earth” in Zech 9:10 likely allude to Ps 72:8, which then further serves as a window reference unto Gen 15:18 and YHWH’s

27 Andersen and Freedman, *Hosea*, 431.

28 See Andrew McClellan, *Abused Bodies in Roman Epic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 15; Ruurd Nauta, “The Concept of ‘Metalepsis’: From Rhetoric to the Theory of Allusion and to Narratology,” in *Über die Grenze Metalepse in Text- und Bildmedien des Altertums*, eds. Ute Eisen and Peter von Möllendorf, *Narratologia – Contributions to Narrative Theory* 39 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2013), 475; Jeffrey Wills, “Divided Allusion: Virgil and the Coma Berenices,” *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 98 (1998): 284. In this kind of framework Matthew 9:14 looks through Hos 6:6 to 1 Sam 15:22 in a manner analogous to how the novel *Frankenstein* alludes to *Paradise Lost* which then again alludes to the biblical book of *Genesis*.

29 For a similar demarcation of what he calls “echo of an echo” see B.J. Oropeza, “Ancient Midrash in the Age of Intertextuality,” 10.

30 Adele Berlin, “Interpreting Torah Traditions in Psalm 105,” in *Jewish Biblical Interpretation and Cultural Exchange: Comparative Exegesis in Context*, eds. Natalie B. Dohrmann and David Stern (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), 27.

covenant with Abram where the promised land is between the great rivers.³¹ In both Zech 9:10 and Ps 72:8, submission and trust are the keys to the continuous prosperity of the Davidic king. The payoff of the window reference is that the reader sees Ps 72 “identifying the accomplishment of the Davidic Covenant as essentially identical to fulfilling the Abrahamic covenant.”³² And “in sum, the psalmist presents the idealized Genesis-shaped kingdom of the Davidic son as a fulfillment of the Abrahamic covenant.”³³

Daewoong Kim deftly illustrates how Pseudo-Philo portrays Abraham as being placed in a blazing furnace because he refuses to join the brick-builders in making their tower. And echoing the three faithful figures in Daniel 3, he is unscathed by the fiery furnace (*L.A.B.* 6.16, 6.18). Pseudo-Philo thus alludes to Dan 3, which then alludes to Gen 11 to explain Abraham’s piety.³⁴ In addition, Kim shows how the act of building with bricks and stones, in conjunction with the motif of imperialism, likely provides a window reference from 3 Baruch 3:5 to Dan 4:24 and finally to Gen 11:2.³⁵

G.K. Beale notes that Paul’s language of new creation in Gal 6:15–16 intertextually connects to Isa 54:5–16, which speaks of a new restoration akin to the motif of new creation subsequently to the flood (Gen 6–9).³⁶ This intricate intertextual layering thus creates a window reference from Galatians to Genesis via Isaiah. A similar window reference likely occurs in 2 Cor 5:17 as it connects with Isa 65:17 and then further into Gen 11.³⁷ Robert Foster likewise convincingly argues for this kind of layered referencing in Romans, saying that “beneath Paul’s argument lies a biblical substructure combining Torah and the prophets.”³⁸ Foster convincingly demonstrates that Paul is engaging in a common Jewish practice where interpreters read the prophetic literature as a commentary on the Torah.³⁹

31 Gary Schnittjer, *Old Testament Use of the Old Testament: A Book by Book Guide* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 2021), 489.

32 Ibid., 490.

33 Ibid., 492.

34 Daewoong Kim, “Biblical Interpretation in the Book of Daniel: Literary Allusions in Daniel to Genesis and Ezekiel” (PhD. diss., Rice University, 2013), 161.

35 Ibid., 165–66.

36 G.K. Beale, “Peace and Mercy Upon the Israel of God: The Old Testament Background of Galatians 6:16b,” *Bib* 80 (1999): 211.

37 Oropeza, “Ancient Midrash in the Age of Intertextuality,” 10–11.

38 Robert Foster, *Renaming Abraham’s Children: Election, Ethnicity, and the Interpretation of Scripture in Romans 9*, WUNT 2.421 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2016), 151. In Foster’s work, Romans particularly engages the Torah via Hosea.

39 Ibid., 35.

Finally, Anne M. O’Leary has previously suggested that Matthew uses window references or “multi-tier allusions,” as she calls them.⁴⁰ O’Leary argues Matt 10:21–22 sends the readers “back to Exodus 5–6 via Mic. 7.6 (two-tier allusion).”⁴¹ The point of the layered intertextual interplay is to encourage the disciples, in the face of opposition, to stand firm in their witness to Jesus more so than Moses did in his witness to YHWH against Pharaoh.⁴² Because of these window references elsewhere in both the Old and New Testament, and in other roughly contemporary Jewish literature, I suggest Matthew could have intended a window reference in Matt 9:13 and elsewhere.

7.1.3 *Implied or Explicit Intertext*

In light of the above discussion, we can fill in the data as follows:

1: Identify the marker(s) in (A) and (C)	The keywords that appear in Matt 9:13 and 1 Sam 15:22 are the verb θέλω or the noun form θελητόν and the noun θυσία. The motif of a royal messianic ruler who is better than the current leader(ship) occurs in both Matt 9:13 and its larger context as well as in 1 Sam 15:22 and its narrative milieu. The point in both passages is that the current leader(ship) erroneously believes sacrifice is enough to please YHWH.
2: Identify text (C)	Based on step one, the proposed intertext is 1 Sam 15:22
3: Actualization of evocation of text (C) in text (A)	It seems 1 Sam 15:22 (C) is evoked in Matt 9:13 (A) to aid in the critique of the current leadership by highlighting the futility of cultic sacrifice if one’s inner disposition is not already set on fully obeying the LORD.

Considering Hays’ criteria, we note the proposed intertext was available, and Matthew could have intended it and its effects on the reader. The proposed intertext may be considered implied as it lacks a formulaic presentation

40 Anne M. O’Leary, *Matthew’s Judaization of Mark: Examined in the Context of the Use of Sources in Graeco-Roman Antiquity*, LNTS 323 (London: T&T Clark, 2006), 29.

41 Ibid., 160.

42 Ibid., 160.

and is not considered a citation such as Hos 6:6. However, texts (A) and (C) share some significant lexical parallels, and the proposed intertext directs the ideal reader to similar themes in texts (A) and (C). The proposed intertext is strengthened because the clear citation from Hos 6:6 likely carries within itself a reference to 1 Sam 15:22. The clear citation to Hos 6:6 thus functions as a window to the more obfuscated link to 1 Sam 15:22.

From a history of interpretation standpoint, we miss ancient witnesses that connect Matt 9:13 and 1 Sam 15:22. However, several recent interpreters have noted the link. Walter Klaiber notes a parallel, saying: "Dieser Satz ist eines des vielen alttestamentlichen Worte, die vor der trügerischen Meinung warnen, mit der äußerlichen Befolgung kultischer Gebote Könne man dem Anspruch Gottes genügen."⁴³ Gerhard Maier likewise notes Hos 6:6 is part of a larger prophetic tradition that critiques the offering of sacrifice if it is done without proper motives and lists 1 Sam 15:22 as an example.⁴⁴ While several English-speaking commentators overlook the potential link between Matt 9:13 and 1 Sam 15:22, one must acknowledge a few who see 1 Sam 15:22 as a possible backdrop for Matt 9:13.⁴⁵

The criterion of volume is difficult to satisfy because Matt 9:13 primarily connects with Hos 6:6. However, we do see a few lexical parallels between Matt 9:13 and 1 Sam 15:22. The proposed intertext fits well within Matthew's larger critique of the Pharisees and furthers the theme, begun in Matt 2:6, of a Davidic ruler who will shepherd YHWH's people. In Matthew 9:1–10:1 the Davidic shepherd sees the people have been left without proper shepherding by the Pharisees and decides to empower his disciples to help care for the sheep the way he does, namely in compassionate and merciful healings, teachings, and fellowship. In this way, we reasonably fulfill the criteria of thematic coherence and satisfaction. The passage thus fits into Matthew's broader theme of a higher righteousness, which has already come to the fore in chapters 1–4.⁴⁶

The criterion of recurrence is reasonably satisfied because one finds another evocation of Saul's disobedience and the kingdom being handed to someone else in Matt 21:43. We may want to give the proposed intertext further serious consideration because Matt 12:3–4, as we shall see, explicitly links Hos 6:6 to 1 Sam 21:17. The likelihood of an intertextual connection between 1 Sam 15:22 and Matt 9:13's citation of Hos 6:6 is more likely because the same citation

43 Klaiber, *Matthäusevangelium*, 1:181.

44 Maier, *Evangelium des Matthäus*, 1:508.

45 Turner, *Matthew*, 253; Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 2:104; France, *Matthew*, 354 n. 23.

46 David Hill, "On the Use and Meaning of Hosea vi. 6 in Matthew's Gospel," *NTS* 24 (1977): 117; Ng "Better Righteousness," 223.

of Hos 6:6 in Matt 12 is plainly couched in a story of David from 1 Sam 21:7. It seems Matthew's Gospel twice mixes motifs from Hos 6:6 and 1-2 Samuel. We can thus label the proposed intertext as an implied intertext with reasonable explanatory power.

7.1.4 *Conclusions and Narrative Implications*

From a narrative perspective, the proposed intertext fits well within the well-established comparative Matthean framework. Matthew has previously compared the unjust and unmerciful Herod to the just and merciful Davidic line, and this pericope highlights the unmerciful Pharisees who, like Saul in 1 Sam 15:22, believe they can placate YHWH merely by ritualistic sacrifice. However, their hearts are evidently far from the LORD, and Jesus, like David, exemplifies a man after YHWH's own heart in that he has compassion on the sheep of Israel and cares for their needs as a true shepherd should. What the Pharisees are missing in terms of a better righteousness is mercy. What Saul is missing in 1 Sam 15 regarding a better righteousness is obedience. Both the Pharisees and Saul understand and seemingly practice cultic sacrifices, but they both miss what is more vital. As such, they are both unseated by a better leader who understands such weightier matters. Both Saul and the Pharisees fail to exhibit the higher righteousness that Matthew promotes. Sacrifice without proper obedient piety has a rich biblical history of being inadequate (Isa 1:10-11; Jer 7:21-26; Hos 6:6; Amos 5:21-24; Mic 6:6-8; Ps 50:9; 51:16). Just like Saul is a tragic character in 1 Sam 15,⁴⁷ so the Pharisees of Matthew 9 are "ironic and tragic figures in the narrative."⁴⁸

Since 1 Samuel 15 narrates Saul's downfall, Matt 9-10 perhaps constitutes a similar hinge point in the Gospel where the opposing Pharisees are dethroned (as arbiters of the law) by one who obeys fully and knows what mercy truly means.⁴⁹ Of course, the opposing Pharisees are not merely dethroned by Jesus but also by his disciples, who are sent to the lost sheep of Israel. In this manner, the proposed intertext helps elucidate the changing of the guard and the empowerment of Jesus' disciples to carry forth his message of radical obedience

47 Halbertal and Holmes, *Power in the Biblical Book of Samuel*, 28.

48 Viljoen, "Hosea 6:6 and identity formation in Matthew," 221. The irony is that these are Israel's supposed leaders who ought to understand, tragic in the sense that their lack of understanding leads to awful or deplorable (or any other of the many synonyms for "tragic") conditions for people.

49 Note that the narrative does not suggest all Pharisees, and their variegated schools and theologies, are dethroned. Rather, the story only tells us that those who have not yet learned what Hos 6:6 means, must go learn it. However, an approach to the law devoid of mercy is relegated by Jesus' interpretation.

to YHWH and a higher righteousness that is not rooted in habitual sacrifice but rather in mercy, compassion, and love for neighbor as well as enemy.

If there is any hint of a militaristic ruler in Matt 9:1–10:1, as proposed by Willitts,⁵⁰ then the enemy may be conceived as the evil spirits, or demons, which Jesus casts out. While the Pharisees are antagonistic, Jesus clearly does not wish for the Pharisees to be eliminated or cast out like the demons. Rather, he invites the Pharisees to learn what Hos 6:6 means. They are in the wrong, but Jesus' antagonism towards them is not violent here. However, the story is different regarding the demons. Jesus' exorcisms can be viewed as the destruction of spiritual evil.⁵¹ If we further actualize the intertextual link to 1 Sam 15, we may view the demons as parallel to the Amalekites.⁵² While it is beyond the scope of this study to deal thoroughly with this possible implication of the intertext, we should note the early church has historically been prone to interpret passages like 1 Sam 15 in a spiritualized manner.⁵³ How much this influences one's view of Matthew's exorcisms and spiritual warfare vis-à-vis his use of the Jewish Scriptures depends on how one considers Matthew in relation to what has become known as the "Parting of the Ways"⁵⁴ and how one defines "Christian" and "Jewish."

Regardless of how one may spiritualize the warfare parallels, the intertextual link to 1 Sam 15:22 is strengthened because Matt 9:13 is couched within a chapter that highlights Jesus as the son of David and described as having compassion on the people who are like sheep without a shepherd. These elements, namely desiring mercy above sacrifice and healing, juxtaposed with the Pharisees' lack thereof, help bolster an intertextual link to 1 Sam 15:22 wherein Saul lacks what the better ruler, David, possesses.

⁵⁰ Willitts, *Matthew's Messianic Shepherd-King*, 127.

⁵¹ Amanda Witmer, *Jesus, the Galilean Exorcist: His Exorcisms in Social and Political Context*, LNTS 459 (London: T&T Clark, 2012); 38–41, 169–74, 205–7; Graham Twelftree, *In the Name of Jesus: Exorcism Among Early Christians* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2007), 157–73; Robert Charles Branden, *Satanic Conflict and the Plot of Matthew*, StBibLit 89 (New York, NY: Peter Lang, 2006); Craig A. Evans, "Inaugurating the Kingdom of God and Defeating the Kingdom of Satan," *BBR* 15, (2005): 49–75; Gregory A. Boyd, *God at War: The Bible and Spiritual Conflict* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1997), 171–268.

⁵² Justin Martyr conceived Amalek to represent demons figuratively and spiritually. See *Dial.* 131. A similar notion is seen in Origen, *HomJos* xiii. 3.

⁵³ Christian Hofreiter, *Making Sense of Old Testament Genocide: Christian Interpretation of Herem Passages*, OTRM (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 21–88.

⁵⁴ Stanton, *Gospel for a New People*, 124–26; Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 1:135.

7.2 1-2 Samuel in Matt 12:3-4, 7

Matthew 12:3-4 constitutes the second anchor point, namely the second instance of a fairly certain intertextual link to 1-2 Samuel. Within the narrative, Jesus is again confronted by certain Pharisees who accuse his disciples of wrongdoing because they pick grain on the Sabbath (Matt 12:1-2). In response to this accusation, Jesus asks the Pharisees if they have not read what David and his men did when they were hungry (Matt 12:3). Jesus likely refers to 1 Sam 21:1-6⁵⁵ because Matthew redacts Mark in a manner that highlights Ahimelech as the priest rather than Abiathar (Mark 2:26), and Matthew also notes David was alone with Ahimelech rather than with his men (Mark 2:26).⁵⁶

Certain scholars see the Matthean Jesus in light of the roughly contemporary disputes between the Schools of Hillel and Shammai. In this case, Matthew's Jesus emulates the School of Hillel, which allows merciful acts even on the Sabbath. *Tosefta Shabbat* 17:14 indicates the School of Shammai does not allow charity to be given to the poor on the Sabbath, nor allow one to pray for the sick, but that others (i.e. the School of Hillel) do.⁵⁷ So, while some Pharisees oppose Jesus, it will serve us well here to ask which Pharisaic school might disagree with Jesus' interpretation of the law. Given the Rabbinic material about the Schools of Shammai and Hillel, it seems Jesus' opponents are similar to Shammai and Jesus more like Hillel. The passage follows Jesus' teaching about his yoke, how he is gentle and mild, and the current debate with the Pharisees thus seems to cast them in the opposite light.⁵⁸

The discussion revolves around keeping the law, namely the avoidance of work on the Sabbath, and possible exceptions to said law. Since it is a legal matter, Matthew emphasizes the disciples were hungry as they walked through the fields and picked something to eat on the Sabbath.⁵⁹ The law itself allows

55 Fornberg, *Matteusevangeliet*, 1:217; Müller, *Matthäusevangeliet*, 295; Harrington, *Matthew*, 172; Evans, *Matthew*, 249; Maier, *Evangelium des Matthäus*, 1:658; Klaiber, *Matthäusevangelium*, 1:242.

56 Repschinski, *The Controversy Stories*, 97.

57 The scholars who use *T. Shab.* 17:14 include Harvey Falk, *Jesus the Pharisee: A New Look at the Jewishness of Jesus* (New York: Paulist Press, 1985), 149; Eric Ottenheijm, "Genezen als goed doen: Halachische logica in Matt 12, 9-14," *Bijdr* 63 (2002): 335-65; Isaac W. Oliver, *Torah Praxis after 70 CE: Reading Matthew and Luke-Acts as Jewish Texts*, WUNT 2.355 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013), 114. For others who liken Jesus' view of the law to that of Hillel see James Bowker, *Jesus and the Pharisees* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973), 44.

58 Herbert W. Basser and Marsha B. Cohen, *The Gospel of Matthew and Judaic Traditions: A Relevance Based Commentary*, BRLJ 46 (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 282.

59 Oliver, *Torah Praxis after 70 CE*, 88-89.

for the hungry to pluck grain for eating, but forbids working the fields on the Sabbath (Deut 23:25). Even so, later Jewish sources such as Philo (*Mos.* 2:22) and the Damascus document (CD 10:22) suggest some Jews, like Matthew's Pharisees, might have objected to any plucking on the Sabbath.⁶⁰ Interestingly, the rebuttal comes from 1 Sam 21 and Hos 6:6 and not via a direct quote or example from the Torah. The reason seems to be an appeal to a fundamental principle that the law is meant to serve life and mercy,⁶¹ or that Jesus' mission is more important than law observance. Therefore, we must look at 1 Sam 21 in its own context to better understand why Jesus invokes it in defense of his disciples' behavior.

7.2.1 1 Sam 21 in Its Own Context

The story of David eating the consecrated bread occurs when he is on the run from Saul, who wishes to kill him (1 Sam 20:1, 30). While the text itself does not indicate the incident took place on the Sabbath, one can suitably interpret it thus because Ahimelech mentions he only has holy/consecrated bread (חֶלֶב וְחֶלֶב/ἅρτοι ἅγιοι; 1 Sam 21:5). According to Lev 24:8, sacred bread was presented to YHWH on the Sabbath, which led later Jewish rabbis to connect 1 Sam 21 and Lev 24 (*b. menah.* 96b).⁶²

Interestingly, Ahimelech the priest is trembling when he meets David, presumably out of fear of Saul's anger because one of Saul's men, Doeg, is present and can attest to Ahimelech's treacherous support of David.⁶³ While several commentators note David is tricking Ahimelech into thinking he is on a special mission from Saul (1 Sam 21:2),⁶⁴ I find interesting Bodner's proposal that Ahimelech is an ally of David and that the whole conversation between them is aimed at Doeg so that he might believe David has a band of men with him.⁶⁵ Indeed, we may conceive David and Ahimelech to be "partners in intrigue."⁶⁶

60 Ibid., 90–91.

61 Fornberg, *Matteusevangeliet 1:1–13:52*, 218. The Swedish reads: "Därför följs argumenteringen upp med hänvisningen till en grundprincip som alla delade; lagen ver Guds gåva till Israels folk, v 7. Den skulle tjäna liv och barmhärtigheten. En lagtolkning som stod i strid med barmhärtigheten avvisades av de flesta."

62 For further insights see Lutz Doering, "Sabbath Laws in the New Testament," in *The New Testament and Rabbinic Literature*, eds. Reimund Bieringer et al., JSJSup 136 (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 214–15.

63 Bodner, *1 Samuel*, 224.

64 Firth, *1–2 Samuel*, 234–35; Klein, *1 Samuel*, 213; Auld, *1–11 Samuel*, 247; Polzin, *1 Samuel*, 194–95.

65 Bodner, *1 Samuel*, 225.

66 Pamela Tamarkin Reis, "Collusion at Nob: New Reading of 1 Sam 21–22," *JSOT* 61 (1994), 59. After all, another ally of David, Jonathan, has just misled Saul himself about David's

A strong contender for Ahimelech's partnership with David is the otherwise inexplicable reason for the presence of the sword of Goliath at Nob.⁶⁷ It seems both the straightforward notion that David had men and wanted food, and the subversive notion that David is making a mendacious explanation in the presence of Doeg to seem stronger in the eyes of Saul and his allies, are valid.⁶⁸ Although 1 Sam 21 does not explicitly say David and his men were hungry, the Matthean Jesus believes them to have been so (Matt 12:3).

7.2.2 *Matthew 12:1-8 in Its Own Context*

Jesus' reference to David in 1 Sam 21 frames his reply to the accusation of the Pharisees against the disciples, which is further combined with a *qal-waḥomer* reference to the priests who worked in the temple on the Sabbath yet remained innocent.⁶⁹ An important detail in Matthew is that Jesus claims David went into the house of YHWH/temple (εἰς τὸν οἶκον τοῦ θεοῦ; Matt 12:4), whereas 1 Sam 21:1 says David was at the sanctuary of Nob since the temple was not yet built. The shift from the sanctuary at Nob to the temple, as well as the biblical notion that David and his men could eat the bread if they had abstained from women (1 Sam 21:4), means the focus in Matthew is now on the priestly nature of Jesus' disciples. However, the fact that David and his men committed an unlawful act in relation to the temple is pardonable because of their extreme hunger (Matt 12:3).⁷⁰ Jesus follows up this reference to David with a mention of how priests are innocent when they work in the temple on the Sabbath (Matt 12:5), which he then boldly links with a statement that something greater than the temple is here (τοῦ ἱεροῦ μεῖζόν ἐστιν ὧδε; Matt 12:6) along with yet another reference to mercy from Hos 6:6.

When Jesus says something more important than the temple has arrived, the referent should be clear. However, scholars disagree and observe it could refer

whereabouts so he could escape Saul's anger (1 Sam 20: 28-9). Also, David fakes insanity later in the chapter which underlines that this kind of suggested subterfuge with Ahimelech is not improbable.

67 Bodner, *1 Samuel*, 225.

68 Reis, "Collusion at Nob," 66-68.

69 D.M. Cohn-Sherbok, "An Analysis of Jesus' Arguments Concerning the Plucking of Grain on the Sabbath," *JSNT* 1 (1979): 32-33.

70 Nina L. Collins, *Jesus, The Sabbath and the Jewish Debate*, LNTS 474 (London: T&T Clark, 2014), 48-50. This incident is a good example of how Matthew rewrites his sources; omitting the Abiathar reference (knowing that 1 Sam 21 names the priest Ahimelech) and adding that David and his men were hungry. As we shall see, these scriptural rewritings help Matthew narrate important truths about Jesus and the kingdom.

either to Jesus himself,⁷¹ a quality, thing, or abstract concept.⁷² Viewing Jesus' statement as self-referencing, or Christological,⁷³ is grammatically problematic given the use of the Greek neuter (μεῖζον).⁷⁴ If the Matthean Jesus is referring to himself, the masculine (μεῖζων) would have been used as in Matt 18:1.⁷⁵ Also, Jesus has already mentioned mercy in Matt 9:13, and after saying something greater is here he immediately refers to mercy again by evoking Hos 6:6 in Matt 12:7, thus making the meaning of the 'greater thing' closely linked to the neuter (ἔλεος).⁷⁶

Intratextually, this links the present passage to Matt 9:13 and enables the ideal reader to forge links between these stories and see them working together in Matthew's broader portrayal of Jesus's merciful ministry as the son of David. Importantly, this passage implicitly claims the disciples are innocent precisely because they too function as priests, which must be seen in connection not only to Ahimelech but also to their commission in Matt 9:35–10:6.⁷⁷ Crispin Fletcher-Louis suggests "the disciples can legitimately act as priests."⁷⁸ The commission of the disciples as shepherds in Matt 9:35–10:6, in light of the potential intertextual link to Jer 23:9–40,⁷⁹ likely casts them in prophetic terms as leaders meant to exercise spiritual authority over the shepherdless people of Israel. Since Jer 23:11 includes corrupt priests who are to be replaced,

71 Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 2:314.

72 Repschinski, *The Controversy Stories in Matthew's Gospel*, 100.

73 Yong-Eui Yang, *Jesus and the Sabbath in Matthew's Gospel*, JSNTSup 139 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 147.

74 Cazeaux, *Matthieu*, 265.

75 Müller, *Matthäusevangeliet*, 296. This grammatical logic is important and determines, to a large extent, how one interprets this passage and others in the NT. For example, the masculine plural dative τοῖς τέλειοις in 1 Cor 2:6 clearly represents the believers whereas the neuter singular τὸ τέλειον in 1 Cor 13:10 refers to an event, the Eschaton, or an impersonal thing like the canon rather than a person. For reference see Gordon Fee, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, NICNT (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1987), 644–45; Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *First Corinthians*, AB 32 (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2008), 498.

76 Luz, *Matthew*, 2:182; Konrad, *Matthew: A Commentary*, 186.

77 The Pharisees charge Jesus' disciples with doing something unlawful and Jesus replies that David and his men entered and ate the bread meant for priests. However, Matthew is the only gospel author who follows this up with the notion that priests who work on the sabbath are guiltless (Matt 12:5), thus casting the disciples in a priestly light. For a similar formulation see Müller, *Matthäusevangeliet*, 295; Evans, *Matthew*, 250.

78 Fletcher-Louis argues this based on Jesus' greater-than-the-Temple presence which creates a "transcendent liturgical space." For reference see Crispin Fletcher-Louis, "Jesus as the High Priestly Messiah: Part 2," *JSHS* 5 (2007): 76.

79 Bruce Henning, "The Apostles as the Messiah's Kingly and Prophetic Shepherds of Jer 23," *BBR* 29 (2019): 154–73.

we can at least entertain the idea that the disciples also are to lead in a priestly manner.⁸⁰

Part of the critique against the Pharisees is that they should act mercifully toward Jesus and his hungry disciples, who are acting mercifully towards the lost sheep of Israel. It seems there are substantial grammatical, theological, and narrative reasons to consider *μεῖζον* to be referring to mercy in Matt 12:6. However, the antecedent need not be in the immediate context, and the greater thing could be a reference to the kingdom (Matt 11:12; 12:25) whereby Matthew is then highlighting “the mercy characteristic of the approaching eschatological kingdom.”⁸¹ However, we should be careful not to create too great of a contrast between Jesus and the kingdom.⁸²

A mediating position might come from the grammar of Blass and Debrunner when they note: “The neuter is sometimes used with reference to persons if it is not the individuals but a general quality that is to be emphasized.”⁸³ The neuter might then underscore Jesus’ mercy and not merely mercy itself. Such a reading provides a way to focus on mercy and Jesus himself as the mediator of YHWH’s mercy to Israel. That Jesus and his mercy, or perhaps the kingdom of heaven’s merciful characteristics, are greater than the temple fits within Matthew’s general critique of those who run the temple and have caused its corruption.⁸⁴ Such an interpretation avoids a false dichotomy wherein the

80 Michael P. Barber, “Jesus as the Davidic Temple Builder and Peter’s Priestly Role in Matthew 16:16–19,” *JBL* 132 (2013): 935–53; Michael Barber elsewhere notes that in the disciples are cast as priests in the Sabbath controversy when Jesus refers to David’s men eating food reserved for priests, and that their judging the twelve tribes is likewise a priestly task noting that based on Josephus (*A.J.* 4.303) it seems the priest was the judge in Hellenistic times. For reference see Michael Barber, “Holy Craps: Lot Casting as a Priestly Rite in Acts 1,” (paper presented at annual national SBL meeting, San Diego, CA, November 24, 2020), 3. The fact that Barber is referring to instances in Luke is almost irrelevant since Matthew contains the same passages (Luke 6:3–4 = Matt 12:3–4; Luke 22:30 = Matt 19:28); Jarrett vanTine, “The Restoration of Israel’s Priesthood as the Framework for Matthean Ethics,” (paper presented at annual national SBL meeting, Boston, MA, November 21, 2017).

81 Anders Runesson, “Purity, Holiness, and the Kingdom of Heaven in Matthew’s Narrative World,” in *Purity and Holiness in Judaism and Christianity: Essays in Memory of Susan Haber*, eds. Carl Ehrlich, Anders Runesson and Eileen Schuller, WUNT 305 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013), 153.

82 *Ibid.*, 153.

83 Blass and Debrunner, *A Greek Grammar*, 76.

84 The question about Jesus’ view of the temple in Mathew is complex. But in general, we need not consider Jesus’ statement that something greater is here as a condemnation of, and willingness to destroy, the temple. In other words, an anti-temple stance. Just like Matthew’s Jesus upholds the law (Matt 5:18) yet insists that his interpretation goes further (5:27–44), so one can view Jesus’ greater than the temple statement as respecting

reader is forced to focus solely on Christology or a more abstract entity like love, mercy, or the kingdom.

1 Samuel 21 portrays Saul's wish to kill David. Similarly, the Matthean Pharisees are determined to trap Jesus-son-of-David and put him to death following this controversy (Matt 12:14). Matthew 12 and 1 Sam 21 lack shared lexical markers, but the Matthean Jesus makes a comparison stating his disciples were hungry (ἐπείνασαν; Matt 12:1) which then creates the link to David and his men in 1 Sam 21 who according to Jesus also hungered (ἐπείνασεν; Matt 12:3). Matthew links Jesus-son-of-David to David in this pericope, highlighting how they both care for their people's welfare. Furthermore, Matthew 12 indicates the Pharisees witness something they consider unlawful. Similarly, Doeg the Edomite witnesses the priest assisting David and his men, which he then passes on to a disapproving Saul (1 Sam 21:7; 22:9–16). Both stories have the protagonist and his men acting in objectionable ways to their rivals, who ultimately wish them dead. Given the significant thematic parallels and the lack of lexical matches, the question becomes whether this potential intertext is explicit or implied and whether it contains any explanatory power.

7.2.3 *Implied or Explicit Intertextuality*

In light of the above discussion, we can fill in the data as follows:

the temple (5:23–24; 8:4; 23:16–22) yet insist that something fuller/better is available in and through Jesus. Mercy is not meant to replace sacrifice, thereby portraying sacrifice as deficient or wrong. Rather mercy takes priority over sacrifice. We need not fall prey to a false dichotomy. Matthew's generally positive portrayal of the temple itself (5:23–24; 8:4; 17:24–29; 23:16–22) leads me to agree with Daniel Gurtner and others and view the hostility as aimed at those who run the temple, rather than the temple itself. Indeed, the temple in a sense takes the fall, is destroyed, because of poor leadership rather than intrinsic issues. For references see Daniel M. Gurtner, *The Torn Veil: Matthew's Exposition of the Death of Jesus*, SNTSMS 139 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 99–126; Eyal Regev, *The Temple in Early Christianity: Experiencing the Sacred*, AYBRL (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2019), 143–52; Brian Carrier, *Earthquakes and Eschatology in the Gospel According to Matthew*, WUNT 2.534 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2020), 120–22; Craig A. Evans, "Jesus' Action in the Temple: Cleansing or Portent of Destruction?" *CBQ* 51 (1989): 237–70; Daniel Gurtner, "Matthew's Theology of the Temple and the 'Parting of the Ways,'" in *Built Upon the Rock: Studies in the Gospel of Matthew*, eds. Daniel Gurtner and John Nolland (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2008), 141–53; Harrington, *Matthew*, 298; Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 3:143; Runesson, *Divine Wrath*, 124–30. We should also note that nothing in the proposed intertext speaks negatively about the sanctuary at Nob. Following Bodner, one may see Ahimelech and David as partners in tricking Doeg. Thus, the priests and David work together in 1 Sam 21 just as the new David and his disciples/priests work together in Matt 12.

1: Identify the marker(s) in (A) and (B)	Keywords, or <i>Stichworte</i> , are missing, but the thematic markers would be David and the son of David and their men. Additional thematic markers would be the presence of agitators/enemies and the possible unlawful working/eating on the Sabbath. Perhaps the best indicator of a marker is the protagonist in text (A), Jesus, deliberately referring to David and the bread incident in text (B) by saying, “have you not read,” which functions similarly to the fulfillment formulas in that they force the reader’s attention to a specific text.
2: Identify text (B)	The proposed intertext is 1 Sam 21:1–9
3: Actualization of evocation of text (B) in text (A)	It seems 1 Sam 21:1–9 (B) is evoked in Matt 12:3–4 (A) to aid in the critique of the current leadership by highlighting the special mission of Jesus, his status, and that mercy must again be the center of one’s cultic, religious, spiritual, life.

Considering our criteria, we note the proposed intertext was available, and Matthew could have intended it and its effects on the reader. While we miss lexical parallels and a fulfillment quotation, one should still acknowledge a compelling link between the texts because the Matthean Jesus asks if the Pharisees have not read the story of David and his men who were hungry and ate consecrated bread. This kind of referencing is highly explicit as the Matthean Jesus refers to a specific instance from the Jewish Scriptures, 1 Sam 21:1–9. Aside from this referencing, texts (A) and (B) share significant thematic parallels, and the proposed intertext directs the ideal reader to similar themes in texts (A) and (B).

Looking at the history of interpretation, we observe interpreters as early as Chrysostom (*Hom. Matt.* 39.1),⁸⁵ and later Thomas Aquinas⁸⁶ as well as Calvin,⁸⁷ see the potential intertextual link to 1 Sam 21:6 and connect the two incidents

85 Chrysostom (*NPNF*¹ 10:250).

86 Aquinas, *Commentary on the Gospel of Matthew, Chapters 1–12*, 360.

87 Calvin, *Commentary on a Harmony of the Evangelists*, 2:48.

by interpreting the bread at Nob to be the bread put forth on the Sabbath. More recent commentators have likewise noted the link between Matt 12:1–3 and 1 Sam 21:1–9,⁸⁸ strengthening the proposed intertext and enabling us to consider it explicit.

The proposed intertext also fits well within Matthew's more extensive critique of the Pharisees and furthers the theme, begun in Matt 2:6, of a Davidic ruler who will shepherd YHWH's people. As invoked alongside Hos 6:6, the proposed intertext intratextually connects to Matt 9:13 and links these episodes of Pharisaic confrontation. The proposed intertext thus enhances the reading of the passage, and the criterion of coherence is satisfied. When we consider all of the above data, especially Jesus' explicit mention of the incident at Nob, we can establish this proposed intertext as explicit and safely continue to consider it one of the three anchor points within Matthew that explicitly refer to 1–2 Samuel.

7.2.4 *Conclusions and Narrative Implications*

Since Matthew 12:1–4, and its reference to David in 1 Sam 21, is to be understood in light of Jesus' meekness and yoke (Matt 11:28–30), it follows that Jesus as a Davidic figure is likewise to be known in terms of meekness and mercy.

In the Matthean Jesus' reference to 1 Sam 21, David and Ahimelech are portrayed as merciful because they consider human needs, such as hunger, above ritual and law. Just as David has hungry men, so does Jesus. Just as David is on a special mission (1 Sam 21:2), so is Jesus (Matt 1:21; 3:11–12; 9:35–38; 10:1–20). In fact, David's own words about the special mission seem to warrant the request for bread, in which case we may understand Jesus and his mission likewise to justify an exception to the rule.⁸⁹ Since Jesus and his mission are greater than what has gone before, the reader might see a *qal-waḥomer* argument where the point is that if David was allowed to eat the bread, how much more is it permitted for Jesus? Or, if the priests' work in the temple surpasses Sabbath obligations, how much more are the disciples allowed to eat since something greater than the temple is here?⁹⁰

The missions of David and Jesus become an interesting point of comparison if we consider Eveline van Staalduine-Sulman's comments on the Targum of 1 Sam 21:6, noting that both the Aramaic Targum מְגִיחוֹן לְעֹלִימִיָּא דָּבָן לְקִדְשָׁא

88 Müller, *Matthäusevangeliet*, 295; Harrington, *Matthew*, 172; Evans, *Matthew*, 249; Maier, *Evangelium des Matthäus*, 1:658; Klaiber, *Matthäusevangelium*, 1:242; Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 2:305.

89 Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 2:310–11.

90 Repschinski, *The Controversy Stories in Matthew's Gospel*, 99.

and Hebrew MT כְּלִי-הַנֶּעָרִים קֹדֶשׁ might serve as a euphemism for soldiers being purified for battle, thus exhibiting “battle law” (Josh 3:5; Deut 23:10–15; 2 Sam 11:11).⁹¹ While the Targum of Samuel is likely later than Matthew, its Aramaic is similar to the Genesis Apocryphon at Qumran, which means scholars now date the Targum to the early second century CE.⁹² In any case, the Targum of Samuel may still preserve earlier interpretative traditions going back to the first century.⁹³

If we read Matthew in light of a battle law motif, Jesus’s disciples are then priests preparing for battle, or warrior-priests. This is, of course, a commission they have already received by Jesus in chapter 9. Having priestly warriors certainly fits with a recent emphasis by Matthew Thiessen, which posits that Jesus is engaging in an offensive against impurity and ultimately the forces of death.⁹⁴ It seems logical that one would want priestly warriors for such spiritual and eschatological warfare. Matthew’s priestly emphasis thus adds an element of purity to the story in Mark, which still conveys a “tacit association between the disciples and David’s warriors.”⁹⁵ However, Jesus and his disciples are engaged in “eschatological holy war.”⁹⁶ Max Botner suggests Mark’s version encourages the reader to see 1 Sam 21 in its larger context, drawing a parallel between David, the anointed ruler of Israel roaming around the land evading threats, and Jesus the anointed ruler likewise facing threats to his life by the ruling authorities.⁹⁷ While this tradition is also present in Matthew’s version, he adds priestly elements and the motif of mercy.

Matthew’s inclusion of the mercy motif conveys to the reader that the Sabbath is YHWH’s merciful design, and one ought not to stop doing acts of mercy on this day if required. Such an understanding is perhaps more explicit in Mark’s version, which mentions the Sabbath was made for people and not vice versa. However, it stands to reason that this kind of creational theology

91 van Staaldoune-Sulman, *The Targum of Samuel*, 415.

92 For reference see van Staaldoune-Sulman, *The Targum of Samuel*, 36, 40, 46.

93 For references see Bruce Chilton, “Targum, Jesus, and the Gospels,” in *The Historical Jesus in Context*, eds. Amy-Jill Levine, Dale Allison Jr. and John Dominic Crossan (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2006), 244–54; P.V.M. Flesher and B. Chilton, *The Targums: A Critical Introduction*, SAIS, 12 (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 181. We should also note the conceptual parallels for priests engaging in eschatological war in 1QM 7:5–6, 12–18; 9:1–9; 17:2–3.

94 Matthew Thiessen, *Jesus and the Forces of Death: The Gospels’ Portrayal of Ritual Impurity Within First-Century Judaism* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2020), 179–80.

95 Max Botner, “Has Jesus Read What David Did? Probing Problems in Mark 2:25–26,” *JTS* 69 (2018): 496.

96 *Ibid.*, 496.

97 *Ibid.*, 499.

and the understanding of rest being YHWH's merciful gift⁹⁸ to humanity fits within Matthew's wider notion of mercy and being blessed by living out YHWH's divine purposes (Matt 5:1–10).⁹⁹ Further, Matthew may have redacted Mark 2:27 τὸ σάββατον διὰ τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐγένετο and simply used κύριος γάρ ἐστιν τοῦ σαββάτου ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου (Matt 12:8) not as a title for himself but rather as an idiomatic way to refer to humanity in Hebrew/Aramaic.¹⁰⁰ If this is so, then the passage makes sense grammatically, and perhaps even thematically, as Matthew then rewrites Mark's Sabbath controversy by redacting the notion that it is made for humankind to avoid a complete distortion of the Sabbath according to human whims. However, Matthew then adds the citation from Hos 6:6 to emphasize that there are weightier matters at play at certain times, circumstances in which the laws of the Sabbath must be broken.¹⁰¹ Matthew's rewriting of Mark avoids the crass and possibly problematic rejection, or relativizing, of the law. In fact, he takes Mark's few potentially problematic words about the Sabbath being for humanity and creates a narrative to show his audience *how* the Sabbath is for humanity. The key for Matthew is to show how a merciful hermeneutic can uphold the law while also maintaining weightier matters such as human welfare.

If the disciples are exculpable because they are with the Son of Man who is Lord of the Sabbath,¹⁰² why bother with the reference to David in 1 Sam 21, why mention hunger, and finally, why the mention of mercy in Hos 6:6?¹⁰³ If Jesus is this heavenly and authoritative Son of Man, then his mere command ought to be enough, and Matthew's narrative enterprise centered on mercy seems superfluous. Of course, one can give multiple reasons for something, which might be the case here. Either way, Matthew's Jesus does not stop by appealing to his own authority, he also engages in a scriptural and legal debate necessary for Matthew's audience to grasp the continued importance of the law and its merciful application.

Thematically, the option of reading ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου as a Semitic shorthand for "humanity" is thus appealing and the point would be that alleviation of human pain and suffering and promotion of human flourishing somehow

98 Ulrich Luz who quotes from *b. Sabb.* 10b when he connects Matt 12:7–8 with the purpose of the Sabbath, says "the Sabbath 'is a precious gift in (God's) treasury.'" For reference see Luz, *Matthew*, 2:184.

99 Jonathan Pennington, *The Sermon on the Mount and Human Flourishing: A Theological Commentary* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2017), esp. 289–310.

100 See Greek versions of Ezekiel 2:1 and Psalm 8:5.

101 Oliver, *Torah Praxis after 70 CE*, 105–11.

102 Yang, *Jesus and the Sabbath in Matthew's Gospel*, 168.

103 Bassar and Cohen, *The Gospel of Matthew and Judaic Traditions*, 287–88.

supersedes strict Sabbath observance. In this particular case, ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου could refer “generically to any Jewish person who, like David and his men, is in a situation when Sabbath law must be violated in order to save the lives of one or more individuals who would otherwise starve to death.”¹⁰⁴ However, one should seriously question the assertion that starvation is in view.¹⁰⁵ Nevertheless, the argument still works even if the Matthean Jesus is merely trying to alleviate hunger rather than save a life due to starvation, as such an understanding coheres with Jesus’ previous invitation for all who are burdened and weary to come to him and take upon them his yoke (Matt 11:25-30).

Of course, if one reads the passage this way, a Christological reading might be diminished.¹⁰⁶ However, this does not mean we should ignore the title Son of Man, likely derived from Daniel 7:13-14, which is used to exalt Jesus elsewhere (Matt 26:64).¹⁰⁷ We are simply being attentive to the fact that this Semitic term may be employed in more than one sense¹⁰⁸ and that one such occasion might occur in Matt 12:8. However, reading Matt 12:8 in a titular manner relating to Jesus’ own authority is still an appealing and coherent option as it would reinforce Jesus’ previous “I say” statements in the Sermon on the Mount and thus bolster the broader Christological claims about Jesus within Matthew. Indeed, Matthew’s choice of words here may be deliberately “oblique”¹⁰⁹ so that those with ears to hear might still hear a greater truth about Jesus himself as he waits to be vindicated. Indeed, given the previous reference to something greater than the temple being present, and following the line of argument that considers this saying to be self-referencing, new vistas emerge.

Within Jewish legal interpretations, a notion that temple law supersedes Sabbath law existed (*Sifre BaMidbar* 144).¹¹⁰ This means Jesus can be viewed as

104 Nina L. Collins, “Healing and Saving Life from Starvation: Mark 2.23-26, 28, Luke 6.1-5 and Matthew 12.1-8: The Sources and Historicity of the Galilean Event,” *BTB* 45 (2015): 221.

105 Oliver, *Torah Praxis after 70 CE*, 115.

106 Repschinski, *The Controversy Stories in Matthew’s Gospel*, 107.

107 Christoph Ochs, *Matthaeus Adversus Christianos: The Use of the Gospel of Matthew in Jewish Polemics Against the Divinity of Jesus*, WUNT 2.350 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013), 57; France, *Matthew*, 462.

108 For thorough overviews see Delbert Burkett, *The Son of Man Debate: A History and Evaluation*, SNTSMS 107 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), esp. 82-96; Mogens Müller, *The Expression ‘Son of Man’ and the Development of Christology: a History of Interpretation* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2012), esp. 417-19; Larry Hurtado, “Summary and Concluding Observations,” in *Who is this Son of Man?: The Latest Scholarship on a Puzzling Expression of the Historical Jesus*, eds. Larry Hurtado and Paul Owen, LNTS 390 (London: T&T Clark, 2011), 159-77.

109 Wright, *Jesus and the Victory of God*, 394.

110 For a fuller discussion see Collins, *Jesus, The Sabbath and the Jewish Debate*, 52.

arguing that since he is greater than the temple, surely his disciples are innocent in their roles as priests if the priests of the previous temple were blameless in their Sabbath work.¹¹¹ The same would be true if we consider the battle law motif in the Targum of 1 Sam 21:6. Here too, another law is deemed more important than the Sabbath law.

Regardless of which interpretive lens is chosen, one must consider the reference to humankind being Lord of the Sabbath as a possible and coherent reading in Matt 12:8.¹¹² Indeed, such an understanding coheres thematically with Matthew's wider usage of mercy and human flourishing. While it is beyond the scope of my work to thoroughly present the arguments regarding who is Lord of the Sabbath in Matt 12:8, humanity or Jesus, both options cohere with the overall motif of mercy, yet only one fits well with the intertextual link to David in 1 Sam 21.

From a narrative perspective, the pericopes of plucking grain (Matt 12:1–8) and healing on the Sabbath (Matt 12:9–13) encourage the reader to see the latter pericope as building upon the former. Just as in the preceding Sabbath confrontation, the second does not deal with a life-or-death situation but elaborates on the notion of mercy, rooted in Hos 6:6 and the link to 1 Sam 21, which says human suffering takes priority over strict Sabbath observance. Thus, in light of the rest of chapter 12, it seems the Matthean Jesus is trying to convey that if one is ready to help a sheep on the Sabbath, how much more should one help a human (the hungry disciples and man with a withered hand).¹¹³ Seeing Jesus' reference to 1 Sam 21 in light of his healing, the mention of mercy in Hos 6:6, and his sheep analogy, helps the ideal reader to see the whole chapter is about doing what is right, even on the Sabbath (τοῖς σάββασιν καλῶς ποιεῖν; Matt 12:12).¹¹⁴

Mercy and doing the right thing thus trump a stricter interpretation of Sabbath-keeping. Suppose Matthew's point was to say that the law, exemplified by Sabbath observance, is superseded by Jesus' authority as the Danielic Son of Man. In that case, all the stories in the middle of chapter 12 seem unnecessary and distracting. However, Repschinski notes the story of David, the mention

111 Collins, *Jesus, The Sabbath and the Jewish Debate*, 89. One might here detect another link to 1–2 Samuel as Jesus, the Son of David, considers his disciples (brothers and sisters/Family Matt 12:50) to be priests. In a similar manner MT 2 Sam 8:18 notes that David's sons/family were priests (כֹּהֲנִים).

112 Marc Turnage, *Windows into the Bible: Cultural and Historical Insights from the Bible for Modern Readers* (Springfield, MO: Logion Press, 2016), 384.

113 Thomas Kazen, *Jesus and Purity Halakah: Was Jesus Indifferent to Impurity?* ConBNT 38 (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2010), 58.

114 Eric Ottenheijm, "Genezen als goed doen: Halachische logica in Matt 12, 9–14," *Bijdr* 63 (2002): 335–65.

of the priests on the Sabbath, and the reference to Hos 6:6, highlight Jesus as more knowledgeable, a better interpreter and presenter of legal issues, and thus “he is truly Lord of the Sabbath.”¹¹⁵ He sees no difficulty combining that element of the story with a suggested Matthean emphasis on Christology.¹¹⁶

Many commentators prefer a Christological reading, a valid option that reinforces a crucial Christological emphasis within the Gospel itself. However, the interpretation that places humanity, or rather the welfare of people, over a certain strict interpretation of Sabbath law is also viable. Within such a framework, human well-being is more important than the strict keeping of the Sabbath as interpreted by the Matthean Pharisees, who espouse an interpretation of the Sabbath laws similar to the School of Shammai. This interpretative lens highlights the Jewishness of Jesus and paints him engaging in legal debates with his fellow Jews regarding the law’s proper understanding and application. Jesus would then be akin to the Hillelites in his interpretation of several legal matters,¹¹⁷ and his Pharisaic opponents would be more like Shammai.

If one’s interpretation of Scripture or traditions causes one to make the temple or Sabbath oppressive or incongruous with human needs, such as alleviating hunger and healing illnesses, then such traditions must be corrected. This seems to be what Jesus does in Matt 12, and the intertextual link to 1 Sam 21 helps the reader realize this. Suppose we allow for the previous instances of Davidic shepherd language and intertexts to inform our reading about the eating and healing on the Sabbath in Matt 12. In that case, we can easily understand these pericopes to be about Jesus’ merciful interpretation of the law. As in Matt 1:18–19, the law is best understood and applied through a hermeneutic of mercy.¹¹⁸ Such an understanding dovetails with Matthean theology in general as it does not propose the abolition of the law but rather seeks to interpret it correctly. Matt 12 further reinforces that humans are the arbiters of justice and mercy on the Sabbath. Humankind is thus Lord of the Sabbath and not vice-versa so that the poor, hungry, and sick are helped and not oppressed on the LORD’s day.

The intertextual link to 1 Sam 21 furthers the polemical theme of 1–2 Samuel, which constantly pits David against Saul and carries it over to Jesus, who is continuously pitted against Pharisees in Matthew 12. Intertextually and thematically, this makes for fruitful comparative readings. Just like power and proper

115 Repschinski, *The Controversy Stories in Matthew’s Gospel*, 102.

116 *Ibid.*, 107.

117 B.T. Viviano, “Hillel and Jesus on Prayer,” in *Hillel and Jesus: Comparisons of Two Major Religious figures*, eds. James H. Charlesworth and Loren L. Johns (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 1997), 433–34.

118 Klaiber, *Matthäusevangelium*, 1:244; Müller, *Matthäusevangeliet*, 296.

rule are key themes in 1–2 Samuel, so Matthew stresses proper shepherding (Matt 2:6) and its resulting emphasis on the welfare of people (Matt 9:13; 12:1–4).

7.3 1–2 Samuel in Matt 13:36–43

In Matthew 13:36–43 Jesus explains the parable of the sower which speaks of the final eschatological harvest when the weeds (ζιζάνια) are burned in the fire (πυρί) but the righteous will be shining like the sun in the kingdom of their Father (τότε οἱ δίκαιοι ἐκλάμπουσιν ὡς ὁ ἥλιος ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῶν; Matt 13:43). Similarly, 2 Samuel 23:3–6 presents thorns (ἄκανθα) which are burned up in fire (πυρί). However, 2 Samuel 23:3–6 presents some textual difficulties when comparing the MT and LXX/OG. The MT interestingly speaks of how the one who rules righteously is like the shining morning sun (2 Sam 23:3, 6). The LXX/OG curiously omits this and has David speak a parable¹¹⁹ wherein the righteous ruler does not appear and where it is YHWH who makes the sun rise (φωτὶ πρωΐας ἀνατείλει ἥλιος τὸ πρωΐ; 2 Sam 23:4 LXX/OG).

This presents some difficulties for investigating lexical and thematic parallels, although one could feasibly see this as an example of Matthew's knowledge of both Hebrew and Greek traditions. Clearly, text (B-MT) and (A) consider a righteous person(s) to shine like the sun. But text (B-LXX/OG) and (A) share the fact that the fiery language is spoken as a parable, the point of which Jesus explains in (A). If we consider a possible intertextual relationship, the best fit is somehow to a text, or tradition, which blends the Hebrew and Greek renderings of 2 Sam 23:3–4, or to assume Matthew knows both the Hebrew and Greek Scriptures and artistically combines the two when he needs to.

7.3.1 *Implied or Explicit Intertext*

In light of the above discussion, we can fill in the data as follows:

1: Identify the marker(s) in (A) and (B)	<i>Stichworte</i> such as πυρί, ἥλιος, and παραβολήν connect the two texts in Greek. The MT of 2 Sam 23:3 uses the word קִיץ, which links to Matt 13:43's use of οἱ δίκαιοι. The thematic links would be that the wicked are burned/punished and that the righteous, i.e. the family of David/Son of David, are kept safe.
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¹¹⁹ The Greek reads: λέγει ὁ θεὸς Ἰσραηλ ἐμοὶ ἐλάλησεν φύλαξ Ἰσραηλ παραβολήν εἰπὼν ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ πῶς κραταιώσητε φόβον θεοῦ (2 Sam 23:3).

2: Identify text (B)	The proposed intertext is 2 Sam 23:3-4 in Hebrew and Greek, or a tradition that somehow conflates them.
3: Actualization of evocation of text (B) in text (A)	It seems 2 Sam 23:3-4 (B) might be evoked in Matt 13:43-44 (A) to highlight the favored status of Jesus the son of David and his family/students who, like his predecessor, king David, are favored by YHWH and rule righteously like the shining sun.

Considering our criteria, we note the proposed intertext was available in different textual forms, and Matthew could have intended it and its effects on the reader. However, the fact that the best intertextual link is to a blend of the MT and LXX/OG, or a separate tradition, makes it complicated to establish an intertext per se. Texts (A) and (B) do share some thematic parallels, such as the mention of parables, burning weeds/thorns in a fire, and how the righteous shine like the sun, thus reasonably satisfying the criterion of volume.

Considering the criterion of the history of interpretation, we note recent interpreters see the proposed connection,¹²⁰ which forces us to take the potential intertext seriously as a dialogue partner. Lexical parallels are apparent, and Jesus' role as a son of David meshes with the proposed intertext, which presents David's last words about his eternal dynasty and its righteous ruler who shines like the sun. The most substantial difference is clearly that Jesus' words in Matthew pertain to the end of the age, a final judgment, whereas David's words in 2 Samuel 23 refer to righteous rulers of the Davidic line. However, the Targum of 2 Sam 23 indicates it was interpreted eschatologically, meaning Matthew could feasibly evoke 2 Sam 23:3-6 in an eschatological manner like in the Targum of Samuel.¹²¹ The thematic coherence and satisfaction criteria are thus reasonably satisfied if one employs a more eschatological hermeneutic, as evidenced in the Targum. Finally, the criterion of recurrence is also satisfied since 2 Sam 23, and the luminous righteous Davidic ruler, is potentially evoked in Matthew's transfiguration story.

¹²⁰ Hagner, *Matthew 1-13*, 394; Turner, *Matthew*, 351; Müller, *Matthäusevangeliet*, 328; van Staaldoune-Sulman, *The Targum of Samuel*, 680; Nepper-Christensen, *Matthäusevangeliet*, 173.

¹²¹ van Staaldoune-Sulman, *The Targum of Samuel*, 664-65. The Targum opens "And these are the prophetic words of David, which he prophesied for the end of the world, for the days of consolation which are to come." For translation and reference see Eveline van Staaldoune-Sulman, "Reward and Punishment in the Messianic Age (Targ. 2 Sam 23.1-8)," *JAB* 1 (1999): 276.

In conclusion, it seems we can suitably label this as an implied intertext mainly because of the textual difficulties with text (B), and because the history of interpretation as far back as Origen (*Comm. Matt.* 10.3) see a clearer intertext to Daniel 12.¹²² However, as we know, Matthew can link his text to several stories/texts in the Jewish Scriptures, and the proposed link to 2 Sam 23 is not invalidated because the reader might see a clearer link to Daniel 12 in text (A). In fact, Dan 12:3 and 2 Sam 23:4 do share thematic parallels, and the ideal reader may indeed perceive links to both texts in Matt 13:43.¹²³

7.3.2 *Conclusions and Narrative Implications*

The potential intertext reinforces the notion that the righteous, those aligned with the son of David, will eventually shine like the sun and not be burned up by fire. In Matthew, the ideal reader has already been primed to see the Davidic dynasty as righteous, and it makes sense that the Davidic messiah and his followers experience a shining forth and avoidance of destruction, just like David and his house in 2 Sam 23.¹²⁴

As such, the proposed intertextual link to 2 Sam 23 meshes well with the more explicit link to Daniel 12:3 and the furnace of fire, which is likewise Danielic (Dan 3:6). Both intertexts highlight the survival of YHWH's chosen people in the face of opposition because they act righteously.

It seems both texts (A) and (B) contain a parable comforting faithful followers with the notion that they shall be safe because YHWH has chosen and favored them and because they and their king are righteous. One of the effects of the intertext is thus to underline the righteousness of Jesus' rule, which is similar to the idealized version of the reign of his forefather, David.¹²⁵ If Matthew 13:43 evokes 2 Sam 23:1–7, Matthew appears to be working within a larger Jewish eschatological framework where the sun has a double function of bringing both eschatological “reward and punishment” based upon peoples' righteousness or wickedness.¹²⁶

122 This link to Daniel is noted ubiquitously by interpreters going as far back as Origen who himself does not propose a link to 2 Sam 23. For reference see Origen, *The Commentary of Origen on the Gospel of St Matthew*, 2 vols., trans Ronald E. Heine (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 1:36.

123 Müller, *Matthäusevangeliet*, 328; Nepper-Christensen, *Matthäusevangeliet*, 173.

124 A.A. Anderson, *2 Samuel*, WBC 11 (Dallas, TX: Word Incorporated, 1989), 270.

125 Firth, *1–2 Samuel*, 529. At least David's rule is commemorated as such despite its immense failings.

126 van Staaldvine-Sulman, *The Targum of Samuel*, 686.

7.41–2 Samuel in Matt 17:2

While we have already considered the possible link between 2 Sam 23:3–4 and Matt 13:43, a more promising connection may be to Matt 17:2. The scene of the transfiguration has been interpreted differently throughout history, and it seems obvious the transfiguration links to a Moses typology (Exod 24:16; 34:29–35; 40:34).¹²⁷ But perhaps the ideal reader might pick up on further intertextual entailments which would follow Matthew’s style of mixing his references to the Jewish Scriptures.

7.4.1 Matthew’s Unique Material in the Transfiguration

It is noteworthy that Matthew’s account of the transfiguration is the only one which uses words or phrases such as “his face *shone* like the *sun*” (ἐλαμψεν τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ ὡς ὁ ἥλιος; Matt 17:2), “his garments became white as *light*” (ἱμάτια αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο λευκὰ ὡς τὸ φῶς; Matt 17:2), and “a *bright* cloud covered them” (νεφέλη φωτεινὴ ἐπεσκίασεν αὐτούς; Matt 17:5).

Sections of Mark 9:2–8	Sections of Matthew 17:1–8	Sections of Luke 9:28–36
καὶ μετεμορφώθη ἔμπροσθεν αὐτῶν, καὶ τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο στίλβοντα λευκὰ λίαν, οἷα γναφεὺς ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς οὐ δύναται οὕτως λευκᾶναι ...	καὶ μετεμορφώθη ἔμπροσθεν αὐτῶν, καὶ ἐλαμψεν τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ ὡς ὁ ἥλιος, τὰ δὲ ἱμάτια αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο λευκὰ ὡς τὸ φῶς ...	καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ προσεῦχεσθαι αὐτὸν τὸ εἶδος τοῦ προσώπου αὐτοῦ ἕτερον καὶ ὁ ἱματισμὸς αὐτοῦ λευκὸς ἐξαστράπτων ...
... οὐ γὰρ ᾔδει τί ἀποκριθῇ, ἔκφοβοι γὰρ ἐγένοντο.	... ἔτι αὐτοῦ λαλοῦντος ἰδοὺ νεφέλη φωτεινὴ ἐπεσκίασεν αὐτούς, καὶ ἰδοὺ φωνὴ ἐκ τῆς νεφέλης λέγουσα· οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ υἱός μου ὁ ἀγαπητός, ἐν ᾧ εὐδόκησα· ἀκούετε αὐτοῦ ...	... ταῦτα δὲ αὐτοῦ λέγοντος ἐγένετο νεφέλη καὶ ἐπεσκίαζεν αὐτούς· ἐφοβήθησαν δὲ ἐν τῷ εἰσελθεῖν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν νεφέλην.
καὶ ἐγένετο νεφέλη ἐπισκιάζουσα αὐτοῖς, καὶ γένετο φωνὴ ἐκ τῆς νεφέλης·		

While we undoubtedly have associations to both Moses and Daniel in the Matthean transfiguration story,¹²⁸ it behooves us to take a closer look at

127 Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 2:694; Müller, *Matthäusevangeliet*, 379–80.
128 Fiedler, *Matthäusevangelium*, 294–95.

Matthew's unique words such as "sun" and "brightness" and how these concepts operate in the potential intertext, 2 Sam 23:3–4.

7.4.2 2 Sam 23:1–7 in Its Own Context

While we have already briefly covered this text, we may note 2 Sam 23:1–7 contain David's final words, which seem to vindicate his reign and serve as a kind of comfort as well as a warning to his successors that one must serve YHWH in fear and righteousness. The MT notes that one who rules righteously is like the morning light when the sun rises and the LXX/OG, quite awkwardly, changes this to read like a parable or riddle, mentioning how one might strengthen the fear of YHWH in a person and how YHWH causes the sun to rise at dawn. The LXX/OG seems quite different from the Hebrew, and while my work does not suggest Matthew followed the LXX/OG as we have it today, it seems he, in this case, must have had access to something else, possibly a Hebrew source,¹²⁹ if we are to suggest an intertextual link.

However, the Lucianic recension of this passage might preserve ἄρξου/ἄρχε instead of παραβόλην which circumvents some of the awkwardness in the LXX/OG.¹³⁰ The MT of 2 Sam 23:1–7 indicates that a righteous ruler is one who rules in the fear of the YHWH and is like the light of morning and the rising sun (יְרֵחַ־שֶׁמֶשׁ בְּקֶרֶב יָבֹאֹר; 2 Sam 23:4) and the *Stichworte* thus become אִוֹר/φῶς and שֶׁמֶשׁ/ἥλιος which link 2 Sam 23:4 and Matt 17:2. Either way, the sun imagery in 2 Sam 23 likely reflects a larger ANE pattern where the sun is often used metaphorically about "deities, kings and the establishment of justice."¹³¹

2 Samuel 23:1–7 is a poem that purports to tell the last words of David within 1–2 Samuel.¹³² In this poem, David speaks prophetically about his house/dynasty and the kinds of rulers meant to spring from it, namely rulers who are just and rule in the fear of YHWH. If they rule this way, they are like the light of morning and the rising sun. The point seems to be that if David's descendants rule justly, then YHWH will bless them.¹³³ While verse four has a

¹²⁹ See Chapter 1 n. 91.

¹³⁰ G. Del Olmo Lete, "David's Farewell Oracle (2 Samuel xxiii 1–7): A Literary Analysis," *VT* 34 (1984): 417.

¹³¹ Smith, *The Fate of Justice and Righteousness During David's Reign*, 133. See also Frankfort, *Kingship and the Gods*, 307–9, 342–44. For a thorough overview of the association of justice and light vis-à-vis YHWH and the human ruler in the Hebrew Bible see Beth M. Stovell, *Mapping Metaphorical Discourse in the Fourth Gospel: John's Eternal King*, *LBS* 5 (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 73–132, 241–42.

¹³² Mahri Leonard-Fleckman, "Utterance of David, the Anointed of the God of Jacob," *JBL* 137 (2018): 667–69.

¹³³ David Toshio Tsumura, *The Second Book of Samuel*, *NICOT* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2019), 323.

contentious text-critical pedigree,¹³⁴ we can still see this poem as a covenantal parallel to 2 Sam 7¹³⁵ and a text that highlights “those who do justice and act in the fear of God, will be blessed and they will be a blessing to others.”¹³⁶ Following P. Kyle McCarter, Eveline van Staaldoune-Sulman suggests the poem signifies that the rule of a just king is like the life-giving sun for his loyal subjects.¹³⁷

Looking at Tg. 2 Sam 23:2-4, we see this poem was interpreted as an eschatological prophecy.¹³⁸ The Targum similarly emphasizes the righteous will shine, even if it allocates this shining to the last days. The Targum thus frames David's saying in an eschatological context, an important notion since this kind of interpretive tradition might also be part of the possible occurrence of 2 Sam 23:3-4 in Matthew. Notably, van Staaldoune-Sulman notes that rain and dew, which make the grass grow, likely function as a metaphor for resurrection from the dead, whereby Tg. 2 Sam 23:4 would serve as an *inclusio* to Hannah's eschatological praise in Tg. 1 Sam 2:6 where YHWH raises his people from the grave.¹³⁹

In addition to the targumic emphasis on the luminosity of the righteous, the best conceptual parallel to a potential Davidic focus in Matthew's transfiguration is in the midrashic material in column 27 at the end of 11QP^a/11Q5 where

134 Leonard-Fleckman, “Utterance of David,” 671.

135 Del Olmo Lete, “David's Farewell Oracle,” 436.

136 Anderson, 2 *Samuel*, 270.

137 McCarter, 11 *Samuel*, 483; van Staaldoune-Sulman, *The Targum of Samuel*, 664.

138 van Staaldoune-Sulman, *The Targum of Samuel*, 664-65.

139 *Ibid.*, 675-76. van Staaldoune-Sulman refers especially to Rabbi Hiyya bar Abba (ca. 180-230 CE) who connected 2 Sam 23:3-4 with Hos 6:2-3. The conceptual parallels are clear in the MT, but lexical parallels stand out more clearly in the Greek translation καὶ ὡς ἐξ ἕτεοῦ χλόης ἀπὸ γῆς (2 Sam 23:4) καὶ ἥξει ὡς ἕτερος ἡμῖν πρόμιος καὶ ὄψμιος τῇ γῇ (Hos 6:3). In either case, Hos 6:2-3 likely refers to the resurrection, despite general resistance to the idea of resurrection in the Old Testament in European modern critical scholarship. For references to the debates and the strong likelihood of resurrection see Andersen and Freedman, *Hosea*, 419-25; Else Kragelund Hjort, *Prophesying the Past: The Use of Israel's History in the Book of Hosea*, JSOTSup 194 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995), 81-86; Leilah Leah Bronner, “The Resurrection Motif in The Hebrew Bible: Allusions or Illusions?,” *JBQ* 30 (2002): 1-13. Crucially, M.G. Swanepoel notes that Targum Jonathan of Hosea has elaborated on the resurrection motif and clearly links the rain with the future resurrection in Hos 6:2. For reference see M.G. Swanepoel, “Solutions to the Crux Interpretum of Hosea 6:2,” *OTE* 7 (1994): 7-20. This means that it is quite likely that both the Targum Jonathan of Hosea 6:2 and Targum Jonathan of 2 Sam 23:3-4 represent an old Jewish exegetical tradition that links rain/dew to the resurrection from the dead. Note also B.J. Oropeza who cogently notes that Rabbinic writings, such as those by Hiyya bar Abba, “might reflect much earlier memories and oral traditions.” For reference see B.J. Oropeza, “Ancient Midrash in the Age of Intertextuality,” 19.

David is described as brilliant as the light of the sun (חכם ואור כאור השמש)¹⁴⁰ qua his abilities as a scribe walking perfectly with YHWH and humans.¹⁴¹ Now that we have investigated the texts and traditions that associate David with luminosity and righteousness, we can explore Matt 17 in its own context and look at how these Davidic texts and traditions might constitute an intertext.

7.4.3 *Matt 17 in Its Larger Narrative Context*

We see Matthew is working with Mark's material, mostly following his order, while also adding his own unique words. In Matthew, Jesus has just been identified as the messiah, the son of the living God (Matt 16:16), and he has told his disciples he is to go to Jerusalem to die (Matt 16:21) and that some of those present will not die before the Son of Man has come in his kingdom (Matt 16:28). Matthew's reader has so far been introduced to plenty of Davidic typologies and traditions. However, if a preceding passage is alluding to Davidic traditions, it likely increases the odds that one might discover a nearby intertextual link to 1–2 Samuel. In that vein, one should note that Michael Barber argues Matt 16:16–19 evinces an association with the tradition of the Son of David as a temple builder.¹⁴² Consequently, the ideal reader is primed to read/hear Matt 17 with notions of Jesus' identity, suffering, death, kingdom, Davidic traditions, and the temple because of chapter 16.

As Jesus is transfigured before the disciples, Moses and Elijah appear, and Peter's wish to build three huts for them likely expresses his desire to retain the heavenly on Earth.¹⁴³ Surely, one can view the transfiguration as another Matthean example of presenting Jesus as a new Moses,¹⁴⁴ although Jesus does not receive any revelation like Moses, and Moses' transfiguration happened after YHWH had spoken rather than before. One might also view it in light of the festival of Tabernacles, which was supposed to occur on the sixth day after

140 García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, 1:1179.

141 Eva Mroczek, "Moses, David and Scribal Revelation: Preservation and Renewal in Second Temple Jewish Textual Traditions, in *The Significance of Sinai: Traditions about Sinai and Divine Revelation in Judaism and Christianity*, eds. George J. Brooke, Hindy Najman and Loren T. Stuckenbruck, TBN 12 (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 108–9.

142 Barber, "Jesus as the Davidic Temple Builder and Peter's Priestly Role in Matthew 16:16–19," 935–53. See also Bruce Henning, *Matthew's Non-Messianic Mapping of Messianic Texts: Evidences of a Broadly Eschatological Hermeneutic*, BINS 188 (Leiden: Brill, 2020), 139–79. For general expectations of the messiah as a temple builder see Nicholas Perrin, *Jesus and the Temple* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2010), 80–113; Grant Macaskill, *Union with Christ in the New Testament* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 100–127, 147–171.

143 Müller, *Matthäusevangeliet*, 381.

144 Armand Puig i Tarrach, "The Glory on the Mountain: The Episode of the Transfiguration of Jesus," *NTS* 58 (2012): 155; Allison, *New Moses*, 243–44.

Yom Kippur (Lev 23:27, 34),¹⁴⁵ and one may also view the transfiguration as alluding to the *Akedah*.¹⁴⁶ Indeed, numerous interpretive frameworks exist for this passage,¹⁴⁷ and the presence of Moses and Elijah does not necessitate an allusion to stories that portray them. Perhaps a better interpretation of the presence of Moses and Elijah involves a traditional understanding of them as suffering figures,¹⁴⁸ thus underlining, and in a sense vindicating, Jesus' words about his upcoming trials (Matt 16:21-23).¹⁴⁹ In any case, we might still suitably look for interpretive clues in Jewish stories and traditions that do not center on Moses and Elijah. Ulrich Luz suggests we look to Psalm 2:7, a significant influence on New Testament understandings of Jesus, and view the transfiguration primarily as an "*enthronization*"¹⁵⁰ of Jesus as king. I shall explore such a monarchical approach to the transfiguration following Huizenga's insight that Matt 13:43 and 17:2 are intratextually connected via the keywords "shine" and "as the sun," which means the transfiguration is also about the kingdom and righteousness.¹⁵¹ It follows that if Matt 13:43 contains an intertextual interplay with 1-2 Samuel, one can expect a recurrence in Matt 17:2.

Within the narrative itself, Jesus chooses to bring his three closest disciples with him onto the mountain perhaps because he could not simply excoriate Peter (Matt 16:23) but must show him and the others the magnitude of his mission to Jerusalem, the kingdom, and his own essence. On the mountain, Jesus does not venture into the heavens, rather the heavens, as symbolized by Moses and Elijah, come down to him on this mountain. However, in a manner akin to other apocalyptic literature, Matthew is the only synoptic writer who calls this event a "vision" (Matt 17:9).¹⁵² Indeed, the fact that Jesus is illuminated on top of a mountain lends itself to a kind of apocalyptic narrative as it almost seems to take place in heaven.¹⁵³ YHWH says Jesus is his son with whom he is pleased. What the disciples see on the mountain is not Jesus becoming something new, rather it is a revelation of what already is. They thus witness Jesus' supremacy. On the mountain, YHWH's heavenly voice announces Jesus as his

145 Tarrech, "The Glory on the Mountain," 156.

146 Huizenga, *New Isaac*, 223-35; Luz, *Matthew*, 2:396.

147 A.D.A. Moses, *Matthew's Transfiguration Story and Jewish-Christian Controversy*, JSNTSup 122 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996), 20-49, 114-207.

148 Margaret E. Thrall, "Elijah and Moses in Mark's Account of the Transfiguration," *NTS* 16 (1970), 306-7. Thrall's observations about the event in Mark are still valid in Matthew, see Moses, *Matthew's Transfiguration Story and Jewish-Christian Controversy*, 27.

149 Huizenga, *New Isaac*, 233.

150 Luz, *Matthew*, 2:396.

151 Huizenga, *New Isaac*, 213-14.

152 Gnllka, *Matthäusevangelium*, 2:93-94, 97-98.

153 Thrall, "Elijah and Moses," 312.

unique son (Matt 17:5), which seems to place him higher than Moses and Elijah, who are no longer mentioned.¹⁵⁴ Jesus alone is the one who can reject Satan's scheme and rule (Matt 4:1–11),¹⁵⁵ and the story concludes with Jesus announcing his upcoming suffering and death, which again links this pericope to the cross and of the resurrection, intratextually speaking.

The transfiguration likely foreshadows the crucifixion. In addition to Jesus' own words about his upcoming death (Matt 16:21), the suffering figures of Moses and Elijah, the *Akedah* allusion, and numerous other points of comparison and contrast,¹⁵⁶ Dale Allison notes a lexical connection. The phrase ἐφοβήθησαν σφόδρα (Matt 17:6) is uniquely Matthean and reappears, verbatim, only one other time in his Gospel (Matt 27:54).¹⁵⁷ Given the story's parallel to the mount of the crucifixion,¹⁵⁸ where Jesus is crucified as the King of the Jews, the son of David,¹⁵⁹ we may reasonably see Jesus as the son of David here as well. This is not unsurprising to the ideal reader who has been primed to view Jesus as a royal and just Davidide throughout the narrative, including the immediately preceding passage where Peter confesses Jesus to be the Christ (Matt 16:16).¹⁶⁰

Following these leads by Luz and Ferda, we might view Jesus as a new King David, or at least the promised ruler from the line of David (Matt 2:6) in Matt 17. The enthronement motif in Matt 17, centered on Psalm 2, reaches out to the crucifixion story, which is likewise anchored in Psalm 2 and further linked to material from 2 Samuel 15.¹⁶¹ If the connections to David are appropriate, and Jesus is presented as a luminous Davidic king, then our exploration of a potential intertextual link to 2 Sam 23 becomes interesting. The focus on 2 Sam 23 is not done to diminish or exclude other biblical evocations or

154 Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 2:687.

155 Luz, *Matthew*, 2:398.

156 Although the points of comparison/contrast are too numerous to list here, one should at least note the parallels of three named onlookers (Matt 17:1; 27:55–6) and Jesus being declared God's son (Matt 17:5; 27:54). The ironic reversals/contrasts are more telling, i.e. a private event versus public spectacle (Matt 17:1; 27:39), light versus darkness (Matt 17:1; 27:45), Elijah appears versus not appearing (Matt 17:3; 27:45–50), two holy men besides Jesus versus two criminals (Matt 17:3; 27:38). For reference see Allison "Anticipating the Passion," 708–10.

157 Allison, "Anticipating the Passion," 707–8.

158 Luz, *Matthew*, 2:394.

159 Tucker S. Ferda, "Matthew's Titulus and Psalm 2's King on Mount Zion," *JBL* 133 (2014): 564–66, 568–71, 575–78.

160 Barber, "Jesus as the Davidic Temple Builder and Peter's Priestly Role in Matthew 16:16–19," 937–42.

161 Johnson, "Matthew's Arrest Narrative, the Absalom Revolt, and Militant Messianism," 247–72.

themes. It is merely an investigation into the “polyvalent” nature of the transfiguration story and a possible intertextual connection to 2 Sam 23 in addition to others, such as Moses in Exod 24 and 34 and Isaac in Gen 22.¹⁶²

7.4.4 *Implied or Explicit Intertextuality*

In light of the above discussion we can fill in the data as follows:

1: Identify the marker(s) in (A) and (B)	Two <i>Stichworte</i> , אור/φῶς and שמש/ἥλιος, connect the texts, and the thematic link would be that the Davidic king is YHWH’s chosen ruler and that he, if he rules justly, shines brightly like the sun.
2: Identify text (B)	The proposed intertext is 2 Sam 23:4.
3: Actualization of evocation of text (B) in text (A)	It seems 2 Sam 23:4 (B) might be evoked in Matt 17:2 (A) to highlight Jesus as the righteous Davidic messiah whose rule is just and heavenly. As such, the actualization of text (B) likewise emphasizes what proper rule/shepherding is supposed to look like and how it pleases YHWH.

Considering our criteria, we note the proposed intertext was available and Matthew could have intended it and its effects on the reader. Texts (A) and (B) share the thematic notion of the ideal Davidic ruler being one who rules righteously. This notion has already been highlighted within Matthew’s Gospel and emerges as a central theme in his narrative.

From a history of interpretation standpoint, we see no evidence of readers linking the transfiguration to David’s last words in 2 Sam 23. Origen’s only link to the Jewish Scriptures vis-à-vis Jesus’ luminous face is Exod 33:20 (*Comm. Matt.* 12.43).¹⁶³ Gregory of Nazianzus, however, heavily relies on scriptural referents as he seeks to elucidate the meaning of the transfiguration, referring to Scriptures mentioning light such as Prov 6:23, Isa 26:9, Exod 34:29–30, and Scriptures mentioning bright fire such as Exod 13:21 and 2 Kgs 2:11 (*Oration* 40.6).¹⁶⁴ Aquinas relates Jesus’ shining visage to Isa. 58:8, noting that

162 Luz, *Matthew*, 2:397; Turner, *Matthew*, 419; Huizenga, *New Isaac*, 223–35.
163 Origen, *Gospel of St. Matthew*, 1:125.
164 Gregory of Nazianzus, SC 358:206–8.

although the just will shine like the sun (Matt 13:43; Dan 12:3) Jesus' luminosity is greater.¹⁶⁵ More recent readers and commentators have likewise tended to focus on the intertextual links to Moses in Exodus and none mention a possible link to 2 Sam 23. It is thus impossible to satisfy the criterion of history of interpretation.

However, because numerous commentators have noted parallels to Matt 13:43 and Dan 12:3¹⁶⁶ and how the righteous shall shine like the sun, it is not an impossible stretch to connect this text to 2 Sam 23:1–4. Indeed, such a connection makes good thematic and theological sense and narrows the general knowledge about the luminosity of the lives of righteous people unto the main character, Jesus, as the chosen son of David. The criterion of recurrence is thus at work since we have already seen that Matt 13:43 might allude to 2 Sam 23:4 and Dan 12:3. If the reader detects a link to 2 Sam 23:4 in Matt 13:43, then the intratextual link between Matt 13:43 and 17:2¹⁶⁷ would likewise evoke 2 Sam 23:4. The ideal reader would thus here see David's words from 2 Sam 23:1–4 come true to the highest degree as Jesus is portrayed as a righteous Davidide because his face shines like the sun and because of his perceived righteousness. The *Stichworte* $\tau\alpha\varsigma/\phi\omega\varsigma$ and $\psi\eta\psi/\eta\lambda\iota\omicron\varsigma$ in connection with David, are uniquely Matthean and reasonably satisfy the criterion of volume.

The thematic coherence between texts (A) and (B) is thus quite strong, and the proposed intertext fits the theme of Matthew 16–17. The proposed intertext enhances the meaning of the transfiguration as Jesus' luminous appearance helps explain what kind of messiah he is; one who rules justly like the Davidic rulers of 2 Sam 23:1–4. The criteria of thematic coherence and satisfaction are thus reasonably satisfied. However, considering the lack of historical precedent for the proposed connection, the absence of a formula quotation, and the presence of much stronger intertexts, we cannot label this intertext as anything but implied. Perhaps because of the transfiguration story's polyvalence and the numerous possible intertexts, the link to 2 Sam 23:1–4 is overlooked or ignored.

7.4.5 *Conclusions and Narrative Implications*

Allison insists on a Mosaic referent in the transfiguration of Jesus,¹⁶⁸ which is reasonable but perhaps not preeminent.¹⁶⁹ I do not suggest we discard a Moses

165 Thomas Aquinas, *Commentary on the Gospel of Matthew, Chapters 13–28*, BibCom 34, trans. Jeremy Holmes (Lander, WY: The Aquinas Institute of Sacred Doctrine, 2013), 116.

166 France, *Matthew*, 647; Luz, *Matthew*, 2:270 n. 31; 2:398; Turner, *Matthew*, 417; Müller, *Matthäusevangeliet*, 380; Hagner, *Matthew 14–28*, 492–93; Maier, *Evangelium des Matthäus*, 2:95.

167 Huizenga, *New Isaac*, 213.

168 Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 2:696.

169 Huizenga, *New Isaac*, 223–35.

or Isaac referent, merely that we add a Davidic element to the transfiguration in light of 2 Sam 23:1-4. Jesus' luminous state is likely connected to his resurrection glory, a connection which places him higher than Moses and Elijah and highlights that Jesus was not merely translated like the two previous prophets. This coheres well with France, who notes that Elijah and Moses's presence identifies Jesus "more clearly as the Messiah who comes as the climax to their eschatological role."¹⁷⁰ It is, furthermore, the Davidic links to the sun and light in 11QPs^a/11Q5 that makes a referent to 2 Sam 23:1-4 more probable as it illustrates the Davidic messiah shining like the sun in other, roughly contemporary Jewish literature.

The scholar who comes closest to seeing a link to 1-2 Sam is Jacques Cazeaux, who notes Matt 16-17 follow a kind of narrative procedure, also evidenced in 1 Sam 22-26, which focuses on what it means to be king. In 1 Samuel 22-26 David continually shows mercy towards Saul and acts justly, although he could use force. Likewise, Matt 16-17 highlight Jesus as the royal Davidic messiah which, to Peter's chagrin, means suffering for the sake of his subjects as well as paying the royal tax even though he is the royal son (Matt 17:24-27).¹⁷¹ Understanding Jesus' transfiguration in light of 1-2 Samuel, including a specific intertextual link to 2 Sam 23, thus makes sense thematically as it conveys Matthew's overarching view of kingship and how Jesus' rule is just and merciful.

A Davidic reading also coheres well with Barber's notion of a temple building motif in Matt 16 and Leroy Huizenga's suggestion that the transfiguration of Jesus indicates that YHWH's glory dwells in him rather than the temple.¹⁷² I think this emphasis lends itself to a reading where Jesus is then the new temple, or the new greater temple builder, a greater son of David. In either case, Huizenga rightly observes the suffering motif in the transfiguration and the connections to Gethsemane and the cross likely point away from Moses¹⁷³ and instead focus the reader's attention on the *Akedah*. Certainly, Jesus' transfiguration glory is tied to his suffering, death, and especially his resurrection.¹⁷⁴ This proposed intertext does not negate such a reading but rather affirms that readers see and hear connections to various parts of the Jewish Scriptures. In fact, the intertextual interplay with 2 Sam 23:3-4 and its focus on rain and growth from the ground, ties into a resurrection motif in the targumic tradition of the passage. The evocation of the larger context and Jewish interpretative history

¹⁷⁰ France, *Matthew*, 648.

¹⁷¹ Cazeaux, *Matthieu*, 370-73.

¹⁷² Huizenga, *New Isaac*, 215.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*, 226-28.

¹⁷⁴ Thrall, "Elijah and Moses," 317.

of 2 Sam 23:3–4 thus foreshadows that Jesus, as the luminous and righteous Davidic ruler, will inaugurate the resurrection from the dead.

Rather than an either-or mentality, it seems Matthew is again weaving together several scriptural texts and traditions that he believes are being fulfilled in Jesus.¹⁷⁵ We might, then, suitably end this discussion with the caveat that our proposed reading does not negate seeing Jesus also as somehow divine. While associations to Moses, Isaac, and David exist, there is a sense in which the qualities of YHWH and his *shekinah*, often appearing in bright light, might be projected unto Jesus. The ideal reader could pick up on this, as indeed some have.¹⁷⁶

Given the story's intratextual connections to the baptism, crucifixion, and resurrection, it seems the story of the transfiguration serves to highlight Jesus' identity. His identity, of course, is multi-faceted, and one should not dismiss the potentially divine implications because of the Mosaic, Isaac, and Davidic referents. But a reading of the transfiguration of Jesus that includes Davidic associations and links to 2 Sam 23:1–4 seems to enforce broader themes already seen in Matthew, namely those of the justice, righteousness, and mercy performed by the promised Davidic ruler (Matt 2:6; 9:27–38). I suggest the transfiguration might merge Davidic and Abrahamic/Isaac imagery since the reader has already seen a focus on Jesus as the son of David and Abraham in the incipit (Matt 1:1), including the son language in the baptism, which evokes images of both a public Davidic anointing and potential intertextual link to Ps 2:7¹⁷⁷ as well as Gen 22 and Isaac as the beloved son.¹⁷⁸ Such an intertextual amalgamation is consistent with Matthew's internal narrative structure and themes and could highlight that Jesus' righteousness makes him a suitable sacrifice. And if we allow for the targumic tradition to have influence, the reader

175 The transfiguration might thus be a prime example of dialogical intertextuality where meaning is dependent on several intertextual voices. For reference see Steve Moyise, "Dialogical Intertextuality," in *Exploring Intertextuality: Diverse Strategies for New Testament Interpretation of Texts*, eds. B.J. Oropeza and Steve Moyise (Eugene, OR: Cascade Books, 2016), 4.

176 Huizenga, *New Issac*, 215; France, *Matthew*, 649–50.

177 A reason for retaining a link to a royal anointing is that John as a prophet anoints YHWH's chosen ruler whereafter the Spirit descends on him. This is analogous to the anointing rituals of both Saul and David by Samuel (1 Sam 10:1–10; 2 Sam 16:13). For a royal anointing motif and possible intertext to Ps 2:7 see R. Alan Streett, *Caesar and the Sacrament Baptism: A Rite of Resistance* (Eugene, OR: Cascade Books, 2018), 60–61; Martin Hengel and Anna Maria Schwemer, *Jesus and Judaism*, trans. by Wayne Coppins, BMSEC (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2019), 336–37; Hagner, *Matthew 1–13*, 58–59; Evans, *Matthew*, 78; Konradt, *Israel, Kirche und die Völker*, 310.

178 Huizenga, *New Issac*, 156–169; Nepper-Christensen, *Matthäusevangeliet*, 51; France, *Matthew*, 123.

sees a suggestive interpretation where Jesus' righteousness and obedience as a sacrifice will ultimately result in resurrection.

7.5 Summary of 1–2 Samuel in Matthew 5–20

The implied intertextual connection to 1 Sam 15:22 in Matt 9:13 shows a continuation of the theme of mercy. It is also an example of what literary critics call a "double allusion" or "window reference" via Hos 6:6. The intertextual interplay is also rooted in a conflict between Jesus and the Pharisees. This trend continues into the second intertextual connection between 1 Sam 21:1–9 and Matt 12:3–4. Here again, Jesus is linked with David and a quotation from Hos 6:6, which ultimately highlights Jesus' special mission, his status as YHWH's anointed ruler, and his superior understanding of the heart of the law. The point is that one ought to exhibit a hermeneutic of mercy that allows one to do good deeds on the Sabbath. Given its high satisfaction of Hays' criteria, this intertext shows its strength and is rightly one of the three anchor points to 1–2 Samuel, as suggested at the project's beginning.

The third intertext is implied and potentially allows for a more nuanced understanding of the righteous who will shine like the sun in the kingdom of their Father (Matt 13:43). The final intertext of this chapter is also implied. It connects the transfiguration of Jesus (Matt 17:1–6) with David's last words in 2 Sam 23, whereby the reader is presented with an additional Davidic enthronement context that emphasizes Jesus' role as the Davidic messiah, and his rule as just and righteous. Thus, the reader sees a continuation of concepts like justice, righteousness, and mercy couched in Davidic language and intertextual interplay with 1–2 Samuel that began in Matt 1–4. An intertextual reading proves how creative Matthew is, blending scriptural traditions in his portrayal of Jesus and the kingdom. The intertextual connections of the Targum of Samuel are particularly interesting as they might help foreshadow Jesus' resurrection and accentuate that Jesus' luminous righteousness also fits into a Davidic eschatological tradition.

The appendix contains nine spurious and weak potential intertexts that often amount to little more than general parallelism or a vague typology. The more critical issue shall be exploring whether 1–2 Samuel continue to emerge in Matthew 21–28, and how they might aid the reader in better understanding the story and Matthew's theological themes. We shall turn to this next, starting with another likely double allusion or window reference in Matt 21:1–5 before moving on to the third anchor point between 1–2 Samuel and Matthew, namely Matt 21:14.

1–2 Samuel in Matt 21–28

8.1 1–2 Samuel in Matt 21:5

In Matthew 21, Jesus has finally made it to Jerusalem, where he has prophesied that he will meet his end only to be raised on the third day (Matt 16:21). Entering the city, he is seated on a donkey and a colt which Matthew says fulfills what was spoken by the prophet, most likely Zech 9:9 and Isa 62:11. However, it seems Zechariah's vision might also contain a potentially implicit reference to 2 Sam 16:1–2. The Davidic undercurrent in Jesus' triumphal entry makes an intertextual link to 2 Sam 16:1–2 and its larger context, the Absalom revolt, suggestive. As we shall see, the vision in Zech 9:9 is perhaps based upon the imagery of David in 1 Sam 15:30 and 1 Sam 16:1–2, which show David ascending the Mount of Olives, riding on donkeys, and having to face those either loyal or disloyal to him. Matthew's Gospel is the only one of the Synoptics to feature a donkey and a colt, making the potential intertextual link to 2 Sam 16:1–2 a Matthean phenomenon. The possible intertextual link to 2 Sam 16:1–2 conjures up the larger motif of the Absalom revolt, which has been shown to play a substantial part in the Matthean passion narrative.¹ We shall thus explore 2 Sam 15:30 and 16:1–2 as well as Matt 21:1–5 before we can conclude the viability of a possible intertextual link between the texts.

8.1.1 2 Sam 15:30 and 16:1–2 in Their Own Context

Frustrated with David's lack of action and just treatment of the Tamar incident, Absalom decides he would make a better ruler and thus revolts by acting militarily and judicially (2 Sam 15:1–2). In response, David decides to leave the royal city of Jerusalem both as a strategic move but also seemingly because he fears the destruction of the city and its inhabitants (2 Sam 15:14). During his flight, the reader encounters a central theme: loyalty to David.² Some, like Ahithophel, betray David, while others remain loyal. The main character involved in the story, which might contain intertextual links to Matt 21, is the loyal Ziba, who offers two donkeys loaded with provisions on the Mount of

¹ Brown, *Death of the Messiah*, 1:125, 1:148, 1:257, 1:643, 1:838; Daly-Denton, *David in the Fourth Gospel*, 290–92; Johnson, "The Passion according to David," 250–63.

² Bar-Efrat, *Zweite Buch Samuel*, 157.

Olives (2 Sam 16:1–2). Thus, the central elements are the Mount of Olives, donkeys, Jerusalem, opposition/rebellion, and loyalty to YHWH's chosen ruler.

While the Greek of 2 Sam 16:1 could feasibly refer to several donkeys, it likely tries to render the Hebrew פָּרָק , which means a pair.³ In the story, both in Hebrew and Greek, we thus have a pair of saddled donkeys ($\zeta\epsilon\upsilon\gamma\omicron\varsigma\ \delta\acute{\nu}\omega\nu\ \acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\text{-}\sigma\epsilon\sigma\alpha\gamma\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omega\nu$; 2 Sam 16:1) which are also called beasts of burden ($\tau\acute{\alpha}\ \acute{\upsilon}\pi\omicron\zeta\acute{\upsilon}\gamma\iota\alpha$; 2 Sam 16:2). David's journey on these beasts of burden brings him farther away from Jerusalem and farther away from his claim to the throne.⁴ Meanwhile, Absalom enters Jerusalem and occupies it with his forces (2 Sam 16:15).

8.1.2 *Matt 21:5 in Its Own Context*

Jesus, from the Mount of Olives, rides two donkeys into Jerusalem, being hailed as the son of David. However, the Matthean version is interesting because it is the only one explicitly mentioning two animals, a donkey and a colt ($\delta\acute{\nu}\omega\nu\ \dots\ \pi\acute{\omega}\lambda\omicron\nu$; Matt 21:2). Mark and Luke merely refer to a colt. It seems Matthew sees the link to Zechariah in Mark's triumphal entry and rewrites it to include the two beasts of burden to accommodate his allusion to Zech 9:9. Matthew is, after all, the only one explicitly mentioning this act of Jesus as a fulfillment of Zech 9:9 and Isa 62:11 thereby directing the ideal reader's cultural encyclopedia to the larger context of Zechariah and Isaiah. The scene is royal, and Jesus enters and is hailed as a Davidic ruler. The fact that Matthew mentions two animals has spawned much debate,⁵ and the most widespread conclusion seems to be that Matthew understood his Markan source to refer to a mother and a colt which had never been ridden.⁶ Regarding the fulfillment quotation, Stephen Carlson believes introducing a new animal foreign to Zech 9:9 seems unlikely.⁷

Davies and Allison mention the possible link to 2 Sam 16:1–2 but prefer to focus on intertextual links to bolster a Moses typology,⁸ which is preferred because Matt 2 also alludes to the book of Exodus and has already established a Jesus-Moses typology. But this preference hardly makes a typological

3 HALOT, s.v. " פָּרָק ."

4 Brueggemann, *First and Second Samuel*, 309.

5 For an excellent overview see Stephen C. Carlson, "'The Jenny and the Colt' in Matthew's Messianic Entry, Part 1: Matthew 21:5 as a Reading of Zechariah 9:9 in Light of Mark 11:1–10," *CBQ* 81 (2019): 62–84; Stephen C. Carlson, "The Jenny and the Colt" in Matthew's Messianic Entry, Part 2: Matthew 21:7 as a Reading of Mark 11:7 in Light of Zechariah 9:9," *CBQ* 81 (2019): 235–51.

6 Evans, *Matthew*, 359.

7 Stephen C. Carlson, "'The Jenny and the Colt' in Matthew's Messianic Entry Part 1," 74.

8 Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 3:120–21.

link to Moses more likely than one to David. After all, the immediate context of Matt 21:1–5 is that of the crowds welcoming Jesus as the son of David. Furthermore, the fulfillment formula mentions the righteous king of Zech 9:9, which most scholars at least agree has a Davidic theme because of a link to Ps 72 and Jer 23/33.⁹ It is thus sensible to view the incident in a Davidic light.

Deutero-Zechariah seems to draw on several other biblical traditions, especially so-called Deuteronomistic materials,¹⁰ and Zech 9:9 might even allude to 2 Sam 16:1–2¹¹ whereby the intertextual interplay between Matt 21:1–5 and 2 Sam 16:1–2 becomes layered. This kind of intertextual interplay is called “double allusion,” “double reference,” or “window reference” by scholars. It simply means to convey that while Matthew may have a direct intertextual link to 2 Sam 15–16, it may also have an indirect link via Zech 9:9’s allusion to said text. A similar layered connection in Matthew’s triumphal entry is proposed by John Nolland, who sees an allusion to Gen 49:11 in Zech 9:9.¹² I thus follow a similar interpretative strategy but focus on Zech 9:9 as a window to 2 Sam 16:1–2 and the Absalom revolt.

In a 1962 article in *Vetus Testamentum*, Douglas R. Jones made the argument that much of the language of Zech 9 makes sense in light of the story of David and Absalom.¹³ Jones notes how the descriptors of the king as saved (נִשָּׁע; Zech 9:9) and righteous (צַדִּיק; Zech 9:9) are “suited to describe David as he returned to Jerusalem after Absalom’s revolt. He had been saved from the ruthless ambition of Absalom. He was the ‘rightful’ ‘legitimate’ king against the usurper who had both detached the loyalty of many of his people and seized Jerusalem.”¹⁴ Jones further suggests the author of Zech 9–14 had “meditated the permanent meaning of 2 Sam. xv–xix,”¹⁵ which means when one reads Zech 9:9 one should not forget Ziba had “provided David with a ‘couple of asses’ ‘for the king’s household to ride on’ (2 Sam. xvi 1, 2) and it was no doubt on one of these that David made his triumphal entry.”¹⁶ Several scholars have welcomed Jones’ insights, and likewise see the connection between Zech 9:9 and 2 Sam 16:1–2 and the Absalom revolt.¹⁷ Thus, this possible connection

9 Carol Meyers and Eric Meyers, *Zechariah 9–14*, AB 25C (New York, NY: Doubleday, 1993), 89, 125.

10 Meyers and Meyers, *Zechariah 9–14*, 39–45.

11 Douglas R. Jones, “A Fresh Interpretation of Zechariah IX–XI,” VT 12 (1962): 241–59.

12 Nolland, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 833.

13 Jones, “A Fresh Interpretation of Zechariah IX–XI,” 256.

14 Ibid., 257.

15 Ibid., 256.

16 Ibid., 257.

17 Ralph L. Smith, *Micah – Malachi*, WBC 32 (Dallas, TX: Word Incorporated, 1984), 256; Anthony R. Petterson, *Haggai, Zechariah and Malachi*, AOTC 25 (Downers Grove, IL:

becomes the basis for exploring a window reference from Matt 21:5 (A) to Zech 9:9 (B) and finally to 2 Sam 16:1–2 (C).

The intertextual links to the Jewish Scriptures in Matt 21 function as a narrative device, which usually prompts the reader to see a fulfillment. However, the intertextual interplay is also used in Matthew to generate contrast. If we read the triumphal entry with 1–2 Samuel, we see the beginning of an ironic reversal of Davidic motifs from 2 Samuel 15–16. In Matthew 21, Jesus enters Jerusalem, whereas David flees the city during the Absalom Revolt (2 Sam 15:14, 30). David is also portrayed as having brought Absalom’s rebellion upon himself as a punishment, yet Jesus is not cast in such a light even later in his trial. Irony, of course, has already been at play in the introductory chapters with Uriah’s presence in the genealogy and inversion of the Hos 11:1 quotation in Matt 2:15, and will continue in the passion narrative.¹⁸ A narrative-critical approach must take such literary devices seriously. Later in the narrative unit of the triumphal entry, Jesus welcomes the lame and blind rather than shunning them from the temple like David did (2 Sam 5:8).

8.1.3 *Implied or Explicit Intertextuality*

Based on the discussions above, we can enter the data as follows:

1: Identify the marker(s) in (A), (B), and (C)	The <i>Stichworte</i> would be the Mount of Olives, donkeys (ὄνον/ὄνων), and their other appellation as beasts of burden (τὰ ὑποζύγια). Other markers are the city of Jerusalem and the royal acclamation of Jesus as the son of David. We may further identify some markers in Zech 9:9, as quoted in Matt 21:5, namely the words ὑποζύγιον and πῶλον which links it to 2 Sam 16:1–2
2: Identify text (C)	The proposed intertexts are 2 Sam 15:30 and 2 Sam 16:1–2. The most specific intertext is 2 Sam 16:1–2, but a metaleptic reading of the passage naturally brings 2 Sam 15:30 into the picture.

InterVarsity Press, 2015), 221–22; John Goldingay and Pamela Scalise, *Minor Prophets 11*, NIBCOT (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2009), 274; Petterson, *Behold Your King*, 140; Suk Yee Lee, *An Intertextual Analysis of Zechariah 9–10: The Earliest Restoration Expectations of Second Zechariah*, LHBOTS 599 (London: T&T Clark, 2015), 108.

18 Inhee C. Berg, *Irony in the Matthean Passion Narrative* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 2014).

3: Actualization of evocation of text (C) in text (A)

It seems 2 Sam 16:1–2 (C) might be evoked in Matt 21:5–6 (A) to highlight Jesus as the righteous and true king. As such, the actualization of text (C) likewise emphasizes what proper kingship is supposed to look like, namely meekness, mercy, and an anti-militaristic stance (the antithesis of Absalom's military entry). Furthermore, the Absalom revolt highlights the motif of loyalty to ὁ ἠνὼν's chosen ruler, and Matt 21 likewise shows the reader how the crowds are welcoming and loyal to Jesus, whereas the high priests and scribes (Matt 21:15) denounce him.

We note the proposed intertext was available, and Matthew could have intended it and its effects on the reader. From a historical perspective, no ancient commentator mentions the possible intertextual link to 2 Sam 15–16, but several modern scholars note the intertextual interplay.¹⁹ Menken mentions how the parallel is “clear” and helps explain Matthew's use of ὑποζυγίου.²⁰ Sandra Hübenthal explores the intertext's explanatory power and effect on Matt 21. However, her conclusions are relatively sparse and amount to “Jesus ist in dieser Lesart nicht nur ein prophetischer, sondern auch ein königlicher Gesandter.”²¹ H. Daniel Zacharias suggests a link to 2 Sam 16:1–2 and the larger context of the Absalom revolt. While he agrees with Menken before him, he likewise does not fully explore the implications but emphasizes Matthew's use of two animals is part of a Davidic typology.²²

The criterion of recurrence might also speak in favor of the proposed intertext because the Mount of Olives is so scarcely mentioned in the Jewish Scriptures, and when it is, it is often in relation to David vis-à-vis the Absalom revolt (2 Sam 15:18; Zech 14:4). Proposing an intertextual link to the Absalom revolt fits the criterion of recurrence because links to the Absalom revolt in Jesus' Matthean passion are well established.²³ In fact, Nathan Johnson

19 Blomberg, “Matthew,” 64; France, *Matthew*, 774; Ham, *The Coming King*, 90.

20 Menken, “The Quotation from Zech 9,9,” 574–75.

21 Sandra Hübenthal, “Wer ist dieser? Matt 21,1–17 in inter-textueller Lektüre,” in *Der Bibelkanon in der Bibelauslegung: Methodenreflexionen und Beispiele*, eds. Egbert Ballhorn and Georg Steins (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2007), 271.

22 Zacharias, *Matthew's Presentation of the Son of David*, 124.

23 Brown, *Death of the Messiah*, 1:125, 1:148, 1:257, 1:643, 1:838.

cogently proposes an intertextual connection between Jesus ascending the Mount of Olives after the betrayal of Judas (Matt 26:30) and David ascending the Mountain after the betrayal of Absalom (1 Sam 15:30), thus satisfying Hays' criterion of recurrence.²⁴ The link between Matt 21:1-5 and 26:30 and their shared intertextual interplay with the Absalom revolt works to emphasize the theme of resistance against the chosen ruler, a resistance that is centered in Jerusalem. The fact that Jesus is hailed as the son of David as he enters Jerusalem primes an ideal reader to understand the triumphal entry in a Davidic light and, perhaps, understand it as an ironic retelling of the Absalom revolt. Certainly, Matthew 21:1-6 would then prime the reader to see a link to the Absalom revolt again in Matt 26:30-31, and even further in Matt 26:48-49 where Judas' kiss of betrayal is analogous to Ahithophel's treachery.

The central theme of the proposed intertexts is loyalty to the true king. Just like David in 2 Sam 15-16, Jesus is surrounded by friends and enemies who either stand by him or betray him. The setting, the Mount of Olives and Jerusalem, is also the same. Furthermore, one outcome in both narratives is the disgraceful hanging of one of the king's treacherous friends. For David, that friend is Ahithophel, and for Jesus, it is Judas. The criteria of coherence and satisfaction are thus satisfied, and the proposed intertextual links carry significant explanatory power.

Based on Hays' criteria, the notion of metalepsis, and the ideal reader's broad cultural encyclopedia, we must question Stephen Carlson, who hardly sees any contact between Matt 21:5 and 2 Sam 16:1-4.²⁵ Carlson seems to ignore Hays' notion of metalepsis and the larger context of 2 Sam 16:1-4, namely the Absalom revolt. Further, he overlooks that Zech 9:9 potentially alludes to 2 Sam 16:1-2 and its larger context (2 Sam 15-19),²⁶ making the intertextual link more likely. We should realize this passage in Matthew connects intertextually with at least Zech 9:9, Isa 62:11, Ps 72, Gen 49:10, and 1 Kgs 1:32-40. This is unsurprising because we know Matthew frequently weaves together multiple passages from the Jewish Scriptures in his narrative. However, given the weak lexical parallels and the lack of a fulfillment formula, it is difficult to satisfy Hays' criterion of volume properly, and we can thus consider the proposed link to be an implied intertext that offers explanatory power.

24 Johnson, "The Passion according to David," 250.

25 Carlson, "Matthew's Messianic Entry," 79.

26 Jones, "A Fresh Interpretation of Zechariah 1X-XI," 256.

8.1.4 *Conclusions and Narrative Implications*

If we read Jesus' triumphal entry with the implied intertextual links to 2 Sam 15:30 and 2 Sam 16:1–2, including their larger context of the Absalom rebellion, then it ironically seems Jesus' triumphal entry into Jerusalem on two beasts of burden inverts David's flight from Jerusalem on two such beasts. Jesus enters Jerusalem and is, politically speaking, defeated by suffering the death of a criminal on a cross. In contrast, David, politically speaking, is victorious via his exit from Jerusalem and the death of Absalom. However, Matthew has primed the ideal reader to see that what indeed seems like a defeat is, in fact, a victory, a triumph much more significant and majestic than that of David in 2 Sam 16. Matthew has employed ironic and invertive intertexts before (Matt 2:6, 2:15).

The persuasiveness of the intertextual links to 2 Sam 15–16 is enhanced if one understands Zech 9:9 itself to be drawing on the Absalom revolt traditions in 2 Samuel 15–16, and some scholars see Jesus' entry into Jerusalem on lowly donkeys as a typological antithesis of Absalom's "haughty" entry with horses, chariots, and 50 men running before him (2 Sam 15:1).²⁷ Matthew's use of the fulfillment quotation from Zech 9:9 then also evokes 2 Sam 16:1–2 and is thus an intertext within an intertext, a "window reference." The fact that Zech 9:9 likely connects intertextually with 2 Sam 16:1–2 is important since some NT scholars disregard the link between Matt 21:5 and 2 Sam 15:30 and 16:1–4 because they do not believe Zech 9:9 relates to 2 Sam 16.²⁸

For example, Carlson believes invoking the larger context of the Absalom revolt in Matt 21:1–5 makes little because "David is leaving Jerusalem, and Jesus is entering it."²⁹ Similarly, Tucker S. Ferda believes seeing a connection to the Absalom revolt in Matt 21:5 is "somewhat out of place ... too early" and does not "solve Matthew's redaction of Mark" nor explain the sex of Matthew's beast of burden.³⁰ Ferda's proposed intertext has a stronger interpretation history, going as far back as Justin Martyr. The explanatory power of Gen 49:10 is significant as it helps the reader see that no matter what happens to Israel, the scepter will not depart from Judah but be kept and delivered when the one to whom it belongs arrives. Ferda's use of the Targum Onkelos of Genesis is also illuminating and corroborates the passage's messianic thrust, including the

²⁷ Smith, *Micah – Malachi*, 256.

²⁸ E.g. Wim J.C. Weren who says 2 Sam 16:1–4 and Zech 9:9 "have no evident connection." See Weren, *Studies in Matthew*, 175–76; Carlson, "Matthew's Messianic Entry," 79.

²⁹ Carlson, "Matthew's Messianic Entry," 79.

³⁰ Tucker S. Ferda, "Doubling Down: Zechariah's Oracle, Judah's Blessing, and the Triumphal Entry in Matthew," *JTS* (2020), doi.org/10.1093/jts/flaa088.

notion that the nations shall obey the messiah.³¹ However, a clear intertext to Gen 49:10 does not preclude a murkier one to 1 Sam 15:30 and 16:1-4.

Carlson's objection to David leaving and Jesus entering Jerusalem does not consider reading Matthew's intertexts within his broader use of irony. The same is true for Ferda's reservations. In fact, from a narrative perspective, the so-called triumphal entry begins a large segment of irony within Matthew, which is at least partially aimed at characterizing Jesus as the greater David, and indeed often the typological antithesis of David in 1-2 Samuel. The irony of Jesus' entry versus David's exit from Jerusalem should not surprise us since Matthew has already used "in" and "out" language ironically in his quotation from Hos 11:1, "out of Egypt I called my son," and applied it ironically to Israel (Matt 2:15) which then equates Herod and his rule with that of Pharaoh. Part of the irony in Matt 21:1-5 vis-à-vis 2 Sam 16:1-2 is that David leaves Jerusalem to save himself and his kingdom, whereas Jesus enters Jerusalem to die for his people and for his kingdom. Jesus enters Jerusalem to die for the ransom of many (Matt 20:28) and to save them from their sins (Matt 1:21). Narrative reversals and contrasts often communicate irony,³² and the reversal of movement in Matt 2 and Matt 21 in relation to their intertexts thus create irony. Just as Matthew employs irony to portray Jesus as greater than Solomon,³³ he also uses it concerning David.

Part of the ironic contrast in this intertextual interplay is that David had to flee Jerusalem because Absalom attempted to procure justice when David did not.³⁴ In contrast, Jesus' righteousness surpasses that of his opponents throughout the Gospel so that he can call his disciples to the same standard (Matt 5:20). Indeed, David's leaving Jerusalem might suggest he is "out of divine favor"³⁵ (1 Sam 15:25-26) because of his unjust behavior.³⁶ Upon entering Jerusalem, Jesus further acts righteously by clearing out the merchants from the temple precincts and inviting the lame and blind there to heal them. A narrative reading that considers ironic uses of intertexts thus enables the reader to actualize the intertextual interplay properly, and the notion that the intertext is prematurely placed in the story becomes less problematic if it is read as an ironic inversion.

31 Ferda, "Triumphal Entry in Matthew," 11.

32 Berg, *Irony in the Matthean Passion Narrative*, 96-97.

33 Ibid., 98-99.

34 Smith, *The Fate of Justice and Righteousness During David's Reign*, 75.

35 Ibid., 95.

36 Ibid., 76-77.

The proposed intertext from the Absalom revolt is itself riddled with irony.³⁷ The irony of Absalom's self-righteous move to act against David's perceived lack of just treatment of the Tamar incident (2 Sam 13:1–33; 2 Sam 15:4) is that he acts as a king with his horses, chariots, and men, which is ironically what the Deuteronomist says a true king ought not to do (Deut 17:16). Absalom, in killing Amnon, ironically also eliminates Tamar's only hope for "happiness" via the marriage she suggests before Amnon's death (2 Sam 13:13).³⁸ Indeed, one finds numerous instances of irony in 1–2 Samuel in general,³⁹ and an intertextual interplay with a text full of irony can reasonably be expected to produce ironic entailments.

Jesus' entry into Jerusalem coheres with David's seeming reluctance to engage in violence during the Absalom revolt (2 Sam 16:9–14), and his anti-militaristic entry into Jerusalem in Matthew⁴⁰ is then the inversion, or antithesis, of Absalom's militaristic behavior at the city gates. This anti-militaristic notion is also present in the larger context of Zech 9 as the king cuts off or separates war chariots from Ephraim and horses from Jerusalem and speaks peace (Zech 9:10). The horses being cut off from Jerusalem in Zech 9:10 forms a particularly apt irony as Jesus and David ride donkeys and Absalom rides around Jerusalem with horses (2 Sam 15:1–2).

In terms of coherence, the proposed intertexts' emphasis on the king being just and righteous fits well with Matthew's overarching view of YHWH's rule and his chosen ruler, as well as how the other occurrences of 1–2 Samuel within Matthew likewise emphasize justice and mercy. The proposed intertexts work well with the implied intertextual link to Zech 9:9 and its wider frame, namely the king as righteous, including the Mount of Olives reference in Zech 14:4 where an eschatological condemnation of Jerusalem occurs. Both intertexts (2 Sam 15–16/Zech 9–14) aid the ideal reader in understanding Jesus as a perfectly just king who is about to be victorious. Matthew, however, narrates that this will happen in an ironic and non-militaristic manner with the death of the protagonist. Another point of thematic coherence between Jesus and David, as

37 Miller, *A King and a Fool?*, 136.

38 William H. Propp, "Kinship in 2 Samuel 13," *CBQ* 55 (1993): 45.

39 I.e. the story of David, Bathsheba, and Uriah in 2 Sam 11:1–12:23. For reference see Sternberg, *The Poetics of Biblical Narrative*, 186–229; Camery-Hoggatt, *Irony in Mark's Gospel*, 77–89. We can also note several stories treated in ch. 4 of this work, namely the story of Nabal which functions as an ironic parody of Saul, as well as Nathan's condemnation of a scrupulous rich man who kills a poor man's ewe lamb where David ironically condemns himself (2 Sam 12:1–7.). For other instances of irony in 2 Sam 9:1–13; 10:1–19; 11:1–27; 11:28–12:31; 14:1–33; 17; 18:1–33 see Miller, *A King and a Fool?*, 44–87, 111–134, 172–198.

40 Johnson, "The Passion according to David," 272.

rightful rulers, is that Jerusalem, ironically, is the high castle of rebellion rather than a safe capital for the true king.

Since the Absalom revolt appears to portray David as a somewhat unjust and foolish ruler who does not live up to the claim that he rules with justice and righteousness (2 Sam 8:15),⁴¹ it seems Matthew's Jesus reverses or redeems these qualities and is characterized as an entirely just and wise king. In fact, from a narrative perspective, the so-called triumphal entry begins a large segment of irony within Matthew, which climaxes in Jesus' passion, portraying Jesus as reversing acts of David as found in 1-2 Samuel, a motif which will become more evident in Matt 21:14 and Matt 27:38-51. This ironic reversal seems to aid the Matthean characterization of Jesus as someone greater than David.

Following other scholars who see 1-2 Samuel intertexts in Matthew's arrest and passion narrative, I propose the evidence suggests we expand the 1-2 Samuel scope to include the triumphal entry, the beginning of Jesus' passion week. This is not to say Matt 21:1-5 does not invoke other Jewish Scriptures. Suffice it to say that all these intertexts cohere and work together to portray Jesus' entry as an explicit claim to kingship, but also a certain kind of kingship, namely one that is non-militaristic, meek, and just.⁴² It is, in fact, the just/righteous aspects of Jesus' kingship that unfolds in the very next segment of the narrative: the cleansing of the temple and welcoming of the lame and the blind (Matt 21:12-14).

8.2 1-2 Samuel in Matt 21:14

While Matthew's Jesus is compared to David's positive traits in 1-2 Samuel, the triumphal entry shows the beginning of an opposite trend. In 21:5, Jesus enters Jerusalem whereas David leaves, and David secures his rule by killing his opponents, whereas Jesus himself is killed. In Matthew 21:14, the lame and blind come to Jesus in the temple, whereas when David enters Jerusalem, he takes it and then banishes the lame and blind from the House of the LORD (2 Sam 5:6-10). The passage at hand (Matt 21:1-17) likely constitutes a single pericope⁴³ that connects the triumphal entry with the temple cleansing. While

41 F.E. Deist, "David, a Man After God's Heart? An Investigation into the David Character in the So-Called Succession Narrative," *OTWSA* 27/28 (1984-85): 118.

42 Konradt, *Matthew: A Commentary*, 310.

43 Müller, *Matthäusevangeliet*, 434.

Jesus is the antithesis of Absalom in Matt 21:5, he now ironically seems to be portrayed as the antithesis of David from 2 Sam 5:6–8.

8.2.1 2 Sam 5:6–10 in Its Own Context

While 2 Sam 5:6–10 are some of the most difficult verses in all of 2 Samuel,⁴⁴ the LXX/OG suggests the Hebrew אֶל־הַיְיָ means the temple (εἰς οἶκον κυρίου; 2 Sam 5:8) and the overall point of the passage, for our purposes, is that David finds himself in an antagonistic relationship with the lame and blind who are disallowed from entering the House of the LORD. Although 2 Sam 5:8 may carry a sense of a proverbial saying related to Lev 21:18, the Levitical text does not disallow the lame and blind from entering the temple but rather from becoming priests. However, it seems David wishes to somehow punish the lame and blind by hindering their entry into the temple.

One major problem in the story is that the temple has not yet been built, and David only brings the Ark to Jerusalem in chapter six. Of course, the passage might be a sign of poor anachronistic editing or simply foreshadowing the lame and blind not being allowed to visit the House of the LORD when David brings the Ark in the next chapter. While these are substantial issues for the historicity and composition history of 2 Samuel, they need not present a problem as a potential intertext if said intertext functions to indicate David was hostile to the lame and blind and did not wish to give them access to the House of the LORD.

While it is beyond this project's scope to investigate the compositional details of 2 Sam 5:6–10 thoroughly, it seems one either has to acknowledge that the lame and blind somehow symbolically refer to all the people of Jerusalem⁴⁵ or function as a synecdoche for anyone with physical defects.⁴⁶ In terms of David's engagement with the lame and blind, we might benefit from following the intriguing hypothesis of Jonathan Grossman, who argues that 2 Sam 5:6–10 does not mention a siege of Jerusalem per se but instead a separate stronghold named Zion.⁴⁷ Thus, the name "Zion" refers to a siege and takeover of only a minor and strategically important part of the city of Jerusalem, possibly a section of the south-east overlooking the Kidron valley.⁴⁸ After the siege of the stronghold, David peacefully takes over the city of the Jebusites, Jerusalem, because he removes the lame and blind from its midst. The action of removing

44 Brueggeman, *First and Second Samuel*, 239.

45 Firth, *1–2 Samuel*, 364.

46 Samuel L. Olyan, "Anyone Blind or Lame Shall Not Enter the House: on the Interpretation of Second Samuel 5:8b," *CBQ* 60 (1998): 225–27.

47 Jonathan Grossman, "Did David Actually Conquer Jerusalem? The Blind, the Lame, and the *Šinnôr*," *VT* 69 (2019): 53.

48 Bar-Efrat, *Das Zweite Buch Samuel*, 56.

the lame and blind from the city makes them his enemies, yet David does so because the Jebusites demand it, presumably because they perceive their city as a sacred space that needs to be rid of blemishes.⁴⁹ This reading makes sense of a difficult passage and could explain why the lame and blind and David are at odds. Grossman's reading is also substantiated by the Targum of 2 Sam 5:6, which says "you will not come in here unless you remove the sinners and the guilty."⁵⁰

Regardless of how and why David ends up ruling in Jerusalem, either by military conquest of both the stronghold of Zion and the city of Jerusalem itself or by cunning diplomacy, the lame and blind (whoever they represent) are excluded from the House of the LORD. David is thus portrayed as ruthless and "lacking in mercy."⁵¹

8.2.2 *Matt 21:14 in Its Own Context*

Within the narrative itself, Jesus drives out all those who buy and sell in the temple and then allows the lame and blind to come to him in the temple compound to be healed. Jesus acts as a healing son of David, a central motif in Matthew's Gospel, and the incident is uniquely Matthean. Thus, the context invites the reader to understand the passage in a Davidic light, especially because of the children's appellation of Jesus as the son of David (Matt 21:15). Davies and Allison note that the text might implicitly contrast the first David, who disallowed the lame and blind to enter the temple, with the second David who welcomes them. However, they leave it as an open question.⁵² Luz likewise notes the traditional link to 2 Sam 5:8 and Lev 21:16-23, urging us not to take an antithetical stance wherein Jesus, in opposition to Judaism, allowed the lame and blind entry into the temple.⁵³ While we should heed Luz's warning, it certainly seems 2 Sam 5:8 highlights that such a view was held at certain points amongst some Jews. Specific texts from Qumran suggest the lame and blind, and otherwise unclean people, cannot partake in certain community activities because holy angels are present (CD 15.15-17; 1QSa 2.3-7).

Another text that might refer to David's conquest of Jerusalem is Isa 29:1-8, where Jerusalem is again encamped like in the days of David. But now it is YHWH himself coming against the city and sending the inhabitants into

49 Grossman, "Did David Actually Conquer Jerusalem?," 53.

50 Translation taken from van-Staelduinen, *The Targum of Samuel*, 507.

51 Grant LeMarquand, "The Healing of the Blind and the Lame in the Temple: David, 'Canaanites' and the Reconstitution of Israel in Matthew 21:14," in *One God, One People, One Future: Essays in Honor of N.T. Wright*, eds. John Anthony Dunne and Eric Lewellen (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 2018), 248.

52 Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 3:140.

53 Luz, *Matthew*, 3:13.

exile. However, the hope is that one day the deaf will hear and the blind see (Isa 29:18–20), which is recounted again in Isa 34–35 where the “blind and lame are beneficiaries”⁵⁴ of a new kingdom, contrary to David’s of old. David, who took over the Jebusites in 2 Sam 5:6–10 and defeated this tribe of the Canaanites, is countered or redeemed in Jesus the son of David, who heals the Canaanite woman and allows the blind and lame in the temple and heals them. David’s enemies in 1–2 Samuel have become friends of Jesus so that the temple of YHWH can genuinely be a house of prayer for all peoples.⁵⁵ While Jesus is portrayed as the antithesis of David by linking the triumphal entry with the temple cleansing and healing of the lame and blind, we also witness a critique of the rulers who control the temple⁵⁶ and allow the pernicious buying and selling of goods and presumably disallow the disabled from full participation in temple activities. Matthew’s Jesus is, in any case, again framed as a healing and merciful son of David.

8.2.3 *Implied or Explicit Intertextuality*

Based on the discussions above, we can enter the data as follows:

1: Identify the marker(s) in (A) and (B)	The <i>Stichworte</i> would be “temple,” and “lame and blind.” While the lexical parallels are limited to “lame” and “blind,” the conceptual parallels are strong via the presence of the city of Jerusalem in both texts, and the royal acclamation of Jesus as the son of David.
2: Identify text (B)	The proposed intertext is 2 Sam 5:6–10, specifically, verse 8.
3: Actualization of evocation of text (B) in text (A)	It seems 2 Sam 5:6–10 (B) might be evoked in Matt 21:14 (A) to highlight Jesus as the righteous and true king. As such, the actualization of text (B) emphasizes what proper kingship is supposed to look like, namely mercy and an anti-militaristic stance (the antithesis of David’s harsh treatment of the lame and blind and his militaristic capture of Jerusalem).

54 LeMarquand, “The Healing of the Blind and the Lame in the Temple,” 251.

55 Ibid., 252.

56 Gurtner, “Matthew’s Theology of the Temple and the ‘Parting of the Ways,’” 141.

We note the proposed intertext was available and Matthew could have intended it and its effects on the reader. Considering the history of interpretation, ancient attestation is lacking although several recent scholars note the intertextual link to 2 Sam 5:6–8.⁵⁷

The criterion of volume is reasonably satisfied as the words τοὺς χωλοὺς καὶ τοὺς τυφλοὺς (2 Sam 5:8 LXX/OG) and τυφλοὶ καὶ χωλοὶ (Matt 21:14), in addition to the temple, are present in both texts. Even though 2 Sam 5:8 calls it οἶκον κυρίου and Matt 21:14 calls it ἱερὸν it is conceptually equivalent. In terms of the criterion of recurrence, we do not have another link to 2 Sam 5:8, although Matt 2:6 intertextually links to 2 Sam 5:2, making the proposed intertext to the same narrative context in 2 Sam 5:8 “both more likely and more readily comprehensible.”⁵⁸

As with many of the proposed intertexts from 1–2 Samuel, this one adequately fulfills the criteria of thematic coherence and satisfaction as it highlights Jesus’ kingship as merciful and just by juxtaposing his healing activities in the temple to David’s unmerciful temple acts in 2 Sam 5:6–10. Based on the data above, we can label this as an implied intertext, although it is borderline explicit. The proposed intertext is noted by numerous scholars and coheres with Matthew’s larger aims.

8.2.4 *Conclusions and Narrative Implications*

Jesus seems to function as an antitype of David in Matt 21:14. Contrary to David, he does not remove the lame and blind in order to act as ruler of the city. Instead, he heals the lame and blind and allows them into the temple. This is a reversal of David in 2 Sam 5:6–10, and the proposed intertext makes it clear just how much greater than the first David, the second David truly is. It seems we are dealing with a subversive intertext,⁵⁹ which shocks the ideal reader into realizing that Jesus is different from and greater than David of 1–2 Samuel.⁶⁰ Any hint of nationalistic and military rule is subverted in the triumphal entry, temple cleansing, and healing of the lame and blind.⁶¹ Jesus welcomes sinners, the impure, the historical enemies of Israel, has mercy on them, and

57 Gundry, *The Use of Old Testament in St. Matthew*, 207; Menken, “The Quotation from Zech 9,9,” 574; Müller, *Matthäusevangeliet*, 439; Harrington, *Matthew*, 294; Hagner, *Matthew 14–28*, 601; Evans, *Matthew*, 362; Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Gospels*, 149; Fornberg, *Matteusevangeliet*, 2:369; Gnllka, *Matthäusevangelium*, 2:208; Konradt, *Matthew: A Commentary*, 313.

58 Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Gospels*, 149.

59 For other examples of this kind of intertextuality, which Dale Allison notes often reverts or inverts subtexts, see Allison, *Intertextual Jesus*, 192–97.

60 Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Gospels*, 149.

61 Müller, *Matthäusevangeliet*, 439.

includes them in the reconstitution of the people of YHWH. This is a poignant example of Jesus' yoke, mercy, and justice.⁶²

Craig Evans notes the Targum of 2 Sam 5:8 has rendered the Hebrew "lame" as "guilty," which then means Jesus' healing activity in Matt 21:14 might reverse this interpretive tradition around 2 Sam 5:8 and signify a restoration of Israel since lame people are sometimes considered exiles.⁶³ Grant LeMarquand suggests the intertextual link to 2 Sam 5:6–10 becomes the beginning of David's decline as the text portrays a ruler who is self-centered and worried about military consolidation.⁶⁴ The intertext to 2 Sam 5:6–10 thus coheres well with the link to Isa 56:7 in the temple cleansing and the promise that the temple is to be a house of prayer for all. Jesus, as the true shepherding ἡγούμενος, redeems the temple and truly makes an inclusive place for all peoples.

Considering Jesus is portrayed as greater than David, the paragon of kingship in both 1–2 Samuel and 1–2 Kings, there is a sense in which Matthew's Jesus is a true Deuteronomistic king by being one of the people, not amassing wealth and war chariots, and genuinely ruling justly and mercifully. The proposed intertext works well with the previous ones as it highlights Jesus as the promised Davidic ἡγούμενος who appropriately shepherds the people. The shepherding motif points to a ruler who protects and works for the well-being of the people and is on full display in the temple healings. The ironic and subversive use of intertexts and Davidic typology in Matthew 21 seems to prime the ideal reader to anticipate the rest of the Gospel might present similar evocations from 1–2 Samuel.

8.3 1–2 Samuel in Matthew 21:43

In Matthew 21:33–43 Jesus tells a parable about a vineyard owner and tenant farmers, which is best understood as a juridical parable akin to the song/parable of the vineyard in Isa 5.⁶⁵ The parable borrows elements from Isa 5:1–7 and quotes from Ps 118. The elements of Isa 5:1–7 might indicate the vineyard tower is an image of the temple since that is how it is portrayed in 4Q500 and Targum Jonathan.⁶⁶ Furthermore, the elements from Ps 118, as interpreted in

62 Maier, *Evangelium des Matthäus*, 2:257.

63 Craig A. Evans, "A Note on the Targum 2 Samuel 5:8 and Jesus' Ministry to the 'Maimed, Halt and Blind,'" *JSP* 15 (1997): 82.

64 LeMarquand, "The Healing of the Blind and the Lame in the Temple," 247–48.

65 Klyne R. Snodgrass, *Stories with Intent: a Comprehensive Guide to the Parables of Jesus*, 2nd ed., (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2018), 218.

66 Müller, *Matthäusevangeliet*, 447; Luz, *Matthew*, 3:40.

the Targum on the Psalms, might indicate that Jewish interpreters understood the rejected stone as David, the son of Jesse.⁶⁷ Thus, the parable forms an intricate matrix of various motifs such as the temple's function, how it is supposed to be ruled, and the kind of behavior expected of those inhabiting the land.

8.3.1 1 Sam 15:28 in Its Own Context

The context for this passage is the same as described for 1 Sam 15:22 earlier in this project.⁶⁸ Saul's lack of obedience and futile attempt to offer sacrifices leads Samuel to condemn him and his rule, which is now given to someone else, namely David. We shall proceed without revisiting the details since we have already dealt with 1 Sam 15 elsewhere.

8.3.2 Matt 21:43 in Its Own Context

Matt 21:43 marks the end of the parable of the landowner (Matt 21:33–44), which differs from its parallels in Mark and Luke that both state the owner will destroy the tenants and give the vineyard to others (Mark 12:9; Luke 20:16). However, Matthew notes the kingdom of God will be taken away and given to a nation producing its fruits (ἀρθήσεται ἀφ' ὑμῶν ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ δοθήσεται ἔθνει ποιοῦντι τοὺς καρποὺς αὐτῆς; Matt 21:43). We should not perceive the parable's use of ἔθνει to mean the Gentiles, thereby promoting supersessionist theology,⁶⁹ even though that is a part of the text's reception history.⁷⁰ Rather, ἔθνος can simply mean a group of people,⁷¹ which is how several commentators view the matter.⁷² Evans, in particular, makes a good point as he says:

The kingdom of God, which in Matthew is closely related to the nation of Israel, will be taken away from the ruling priests and will be given to a people (made up of true believers, which will include Jews and Gentiles) whose leadership will result in the “fruits” that God expects.⁷³

Fiedler likewise says it is the tenants who fail and that ἔθνος is not a counter concept to the people of YHWH, rather it signifies a group of true followers of

67 Evans, *Matthew*, 374.

68 See section 7.1.1.

69 Bassler and Cohen, *The Gospel of Matthew and Judaic Traditions*, 557.

70 For a fuller discussion see Luz, *Matthew*, 3:38–39.

71 BDAG, s.v. “ἔθνος.”

72 Harrington, *Matthew*, 304–5; Carson, *Matthew*, 454; Fiedler, *Matthäusevangelium*, 332; Turner, *Matthew*, 516; Nolland, *Matthew*, 879; Keener, *Matthew*, 510–11; Salardini, *Matthew's Christian-Jewish Community*, 61.

73 Evans, *Matthew*, 375.

Jesus within the *λαός*. Because of this Fiedler notes “Damit ist die Annahme unvereinbar, Matt behaupte die Ersetzung Israels die Kirche.”⁷⁴ The fruits that YHWH expects are alluded to in the previous story of the two sons (Matt 21:28–32), where doing the Father’s will and righteousness are hallmarks of true believers. Also, the same fruit is evident in the parable of the vineyard itself (Isa 5:7).⁷⁵ The parable thus indicts the Pharisees and chief priests who misappropriate the temple and their status and lack the better righteousness described in Matthew. At the same time, the parable highlights Jesus as a just king who gathers around himself a new community within Israel that obeys YHWH’s commands to practice love and mercy, which are central elements in the Jewish Scriptures.⁷⁶ The tenant-farmers are characterized by their brutality and injustice, reflecting the same circumstances as in the song/parable of the vineyard in Isaiah, where YHWH desires justice and righteousness but receives the opposite (Isa 5:7).

8.3.3 *Implied or Explicit Intertextuality*

1: Identify the marker(s) in (A) and (B)	The <i>Stichworte</i> would be (βασιλείαν/βασιλεία) and (δώσει/δοθήσεται). While the lexical parallels are limited, the conceptual parallels are strong, speaking of the kingdom being given to someone else.
2: Identify text (B)	The proposed intertext is 1 Sam 15:28
3: Actualization of evocation of text (B) in text (A)	It seems 1 Sam 15:28 (B) might be evoked in Matt 21:43 (A) to highlight the lack of righteousness in the Pharisees and chief priests. The actualization of (B) emphasizes that Jesus and his followers are righteous and obedient worshipers of YHWH, and that Jesus is the royal leader of the group, who is better, i.e. more righteous, than the current religious leadership and is consequently given the kingdom.

74 Fiedler, *Matthäusevangelium*, 332.
75 Brevard Childs, *Biblical Theology of the Old and New Testaments: Theological Reflections on the Christian Bible* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 1993), 345.
76 Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Gospels*, 138.

We note the proposed intertext was available and Matthew could have intended it and its effects on the reader. From a history of interpretation standpoint, we note that ancient references are absent, although several recent scholars note the potential intertextual link.⁷⁷

The criterion of volume is barely satisfied as the only lexical parallels are βασιλείαν/βασιλεία and δώσει/δοθήσεται. Moreover, the conceptual similarities are not strong. It is the kingdom of Israel versus the kingdom of God, and the giving is to a single individual who is better (1 Sam 15) versus several others who produce the fruits of the kingdom (Matt 21:43), meaning the parallels are far from perfectly analogous.

The criterion of recurrence is fulfilled as the proposed intertext's own larger narrative context has already been alluded to in Matt 9:13, where the Pharisees are paralleled to Saul (1 Sam 15:22) in that they both lack mercy. Thus, the kingdom belongs to someone with said quality. The same imagery is at play in this text wherein the proposed intertext again highlights a lack in Saul and the Pharisees that is present in others who are given the kingdom. The problem is that the lacking quality in Matt 9:13 is mercy, whereas it is righteousness via the evocation of Isa 5:7 in Matt 21:43. However, the tenants are portrayed as merciless murderers who dispense with the messengers, including the son.

In terms of coherence and satisfaction, we should note the proposed intertext helps us determine the fruits of the kingdom, which would be obedience to YHWH, who desires mercy and not sacrifice, the charge repeatedly brought against the establishment in Matthew. In light of the above data, we can classify the proposed intertext as implied with a certain degree of explanatory power.

8.3.4 *Conclusions and Narrative Implications*

Reading this parable with 1 Sam 15:28 might help avoid a supersessionist interpretation. The parable is about replacing the tenant farmers with other farmers who can produce fruit. It is not about the vineyard being discarded or found to be superfluous. Furthermore, the debate is between Jews, and Jesus clearly views himself and his disciples as those who can properly produce the desired fruit. The potential intertext to 1 Sam 15:28 highlights that Saul was replaced by David, a fellow Hebrew. In Matthew, the Jewish chief priests and Pharisees are being replaced by Jesus' Jewish disciples.

The desired fruit in Matthew is similar to the anticipated fruits in Isa 5:1-7. The owner's slaves come to collect the desired fruits but are killed. Similarly, Isa 5:7 says YHWH expected justice and righteousness but instead found

77 Blomberg, "Matthew," 71; Müller, *Matthäusevangeliet*, 450; Evans, *Matthew*, 375; Turner, *Matthew*, 516.

bloodshed and cries of distress. In light of Isa 5:1–7, the desired fruits are justice and righteousness, the very same characteristics used of David's reign (2 Sam 8:15), who is better than Saul (1 Sam 15:28) because he is more righteous (1 Sam 24:17). The proposed intertext to 1 Sam 15:28 does not cohere particularly well with Isa 5:1–7. However, when we consider the parable in Matthew ends with a citation from Ps 118 about the rejected stone, which in the targumic tradition of Ps 118 refers to David,⁷⁸ the possibility of a composite intertextual interplay becomes more likely.

If this potential intertextual link is to work, one has to accept a certain trajectory in Matthew's Gospel where seemingly messianic intertexts sometimes map unto his disciples.⁷⁹ While 1 Sam 15:22 is not messianic per se, it does focus on the king, and it has been invoked previously vis-à-vis Jesus and the Pharisees (Matt 9:13). Now it would be so in connection with the disciples who, as the new farmers, produce the proper fruit and as new builders recognize the value of the rejected stone (Matt 21:41–43).⁸⁰ While this is certainly possible, it underscores the interpretive difficulties of the parable.⁸¹ The potential intertext does not in earnest produce a fully coherent reading but might make for a satisfactory reading that fulfills the criterion of coherence.

8.4 1–2 Samuel in Matthew 26:30, 39

Nathan Johnson cogently suggests Jesus' exit from Jerusalem onto the Mount of Olives (ἐξῆλθον εἰς τὸ ὄρος τῶν ἐλαιῶν; Matt 26:30) evokes the imagery of David exiting Jerusalem and ascending the same mount (ἀνέβαινεν ἐν τῇ ἀναβάσει τῶν ἐλαιῶν; 2 Sam 15:30 LXX/OG), noting that multiple Greek manuscripts add ὄρος which makes the lexical parallel greater.⁸² Following Raymond Brown's lead,⁸³ Johnson further suggests the Absalom revolt shows David praying on the Mount of Olives (2 Sam 15:31), just like Jesus did (Matt 26:39). Since I have already covered the Absalom revolt in its own context when exploring the intertextual interplay with Matt 21:1–5, we shall forego another look at 1 Sam 15 and proceed to attempt a classification of the proposed intertext for the sake of brevity.

⁷⁸ Turner, *Israel's Last Prophet*, 233.

⁷⁹ Henning, *Matthew's Non-Messianic Mapping of Messianic Texts*, 139–79.

⁸⁰ Ibid., 143.

⁸¹ Snodgrass, *Stories with Intent*, 218.

⁸² Johnson, "The Passion According to David," 250.

⁸³ Brown, *Death of the Messiah*, 1:125.

8.4.1 *Implied or Explicit Intertextuality*

1: Identify the marker(s) in (A) and (B)	The <i>Stichworte</i> would be ὄρος τῶν ἐλαιῶν, and the conceptual parallels would be David/ Jesus ascending the Mount of Olives, praying, all the while facing betrayal.
2: Identify text (B)	The proposed intertext is 2 Sam 15:30-31
3: Actualization of evocation of text (B) in text (A)	It seems 2 Sam 15:30-31 (B) might be evoked in Matt 26:30, 39 (A) to highlight a parallel between Jesus and David. The larger implication of the intertextual interplay is thus how Jesus responds to betrayal vis-à-vis David during the Absalom revolt.

We note the proposed intertext was available and Matthew could have intended it and its effects on the reader. From a history of interpretation standpoint, both ancient and modern scholars note the intertextual link.⁸⁴ The criterion of recurrence is fairly strong because an intertextual connection to 2 Sam 15:30; 16:1-4 has already been established in Matt 21:1-5. The criterion of volume is more substantial in this case, given the occurrence of ὄρος τῶν ἐλαιῶν in both texts (A) and (B).

The criteria of thematic coherence and satisfaction are reasonably satisfied as the intertextual interplay furthers the theme of Jesus as a Davidic ruler. It seems quite clear that the intertext compares Jesus and David. In sum, the proposed intertext seems stronger than the previous case in Matt 21:5. It fits better into the narrative and suitably helps the reader spot a cluster of upcoming intertextual interplay between Matthew and 1-2 Samuel. Given the satisfaction of Hays' criteria, we can label this as a strong implied intertext with reasonable explanatory power.

8.4.2 *Conclusions and Narrative Implications*

The narrative implication only fully emerges in the following intertext between Matt 26:48-49 and 2 Sam 20:9, which portrays Jesus' betrayal by Judas. This

84 Cyril of Jerusalem, "Catechetical Lectures" in *The Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, 28 vols. in 2 series, ed. Philip Schaff (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1956), 2/7:11; Brown, *Death of the Messiah*, 1:125; Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 3:484; Müller, *Matthäusevangeliet*, 533; Keener, *Matthew*, 634; Gnllka, *Matthäus*, 2:417; Johnson, *The Suffering Son of David*, 60.

transitional segment of Jesus going up the Mount of Olives and praying, evoking David's similar path in 2 Sam 15:30, primes the reader to view the broader motifs of the Absalom revolt: betrayal and death. In this sense, the previous evocation of 2 Sam 15:30 in Matt 21:1–5 thus forms an *inclusio* around Jesus' time in Jerusalem where he finds himself faced with those either loyal or disloyal to him, just as David in the Absalom revolt. We shall now turn to a culmination of the intertextual interplay between Matthew's Jesus and David during the Absalom revolt, namely the betrayal of a friend.

8.5 1–2 Samuel in Matthew 26:48–50

This part of Matthew portrays Judas' infamous betrayal, which is signaled by a kiss. Jesus has just declared he is about to be betrayed and exclaims, prior to Judas' arrival, that the one handing him over is near (ἰδοὺ ἤγγικεν ὁ παραδιδούς με; Matt 26:46). In the NA²⁸'s list of citations and allusions one finds a potential allusion to 2 Sam 20:9–10, and in the parallel story in Luke some have seen “Judas' kiss as an allusion to Joab's kiss of treachery (2 Sam 20:9).”⁸⁵ The larger theme of betrayal is evident in Matthew and Sam 20:9–10 even if Joab is never explicitly called a betrayer.

8.5.1 2 Sam 20:9 in Its Own Context

The story in 2 Sam 20 seems to convey the prolonged effects of the Absalom revolt because David is portrayed as someone on his way out in order to make room for a new ruler.⁸⁶ Sheba has incited a political rebellion in the North, and Amasa is tasked with mustering men to face the challenge. However, Amasa fails to follow the directive, and Joab takes matters into his own hands, killing Amasa seemingly because he takes too long to muster his troops in response to Sheba's insurrection, which likely reflects a more significant political disagreement (2 Sam 20:5–6).⁸⁷ Joab draws Amasa close to kiss him but stabs him with his sword (2 Sam 20:9–10). Indeed, Joab “silently, and mercilessly”⁸⁸

85 David W. Pao and Eckhard Schnabel, “Luke” *Commentary on the New Testament Use of the Old Testament*, eds. G.K. Beale and D.A. Carson (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2007), 390.

86 Anderson, *2 Samuel*, 242.

87 Brueggemann, *First and Second Samuel*, 330.

88 *Ibid.*, 331.

and treacherously kills one who is technically an ally because he is also Joab's opponent vis-à-vis who is the closest to David.

8.5.2 *Matthew 26:48-50 in Its Own Context*

Judas, in an act of betrayal, kisses Jesus, which works as a signal so that the crowds can arrest him. Jesus knows this is the way it must be and even tells Judas to do what he came to do (Matt 26:50). As Jesus is being arrested, an unnamed companion of Jesus steps forward and cuts off the ear of the high priest's servant with his sword. In response, Jesus says that all who draw the sword will die by the sword (Matt 26:52), which seems to allude to Gen 9:6 but might also call the ideal reader's attention to Joab's death. Joab is, if any, the man who does the wet work in 1-2 Samuel: he is a man of blood who ultimately spills his own blood (2 Kgs 2:29-33). If one reads Matthew with 1-2 Samuel and sees a recapitulation of Joab's betrayal in Judas' kiss, then Jesus' proclamation about those drawing the sword and dying by the sword can be read backwards unto Joab's demise. Matthew's Jesus is certainly portrayed as a non-violent messiah, something his whole ministry, and perhaps especially his triumphal entry, underscores. This merciful and non-violent approach, even to his perceived enemies, starkly contrasts the figures conjured up by the proposed intertext to 2 Sam 20:9-10. Jesus had human companions who could protect him, and he even states he could also summon heavenly companions to protect him, but he forgoes that option.

Another way in which Matthew might allude to 1-2 Samuel is in his unique choice of the word "friend" (ἑταῖρε; Matt 26:50). As the only one of the Synoptics to use this appellation, it is cause for a thorough examination. When we look at the use of the word in the Jewish Scriptures, we see it occurs most frequently in Ben Sira and 1-2 Samuel, five times each. Interestingly, the occurrence of the word in 1-2 Samuel is concentrated in the Absalom revolt (2 Sam 15:32, 37; 16:16, 17), where it is used to identify those who are loyal to David. The word thus seems to be deliberately used to invoke the motif of loyalty to the king, which is central to the Absalom revolt and Jesus' last days in Jerusalem. Ironically, Judas is no true friend of Jesus. This ironic use of the word should not surprise the ideal reader because we know Matthew frequently employs irony in his portrayal of Jesus' last days. Intratextually, the word connects to another royal motif, namely Jesus' parable of the king's wedding feast. At the feast, a "friend" who appears without the proper wedding attire is cast into outer darkness (Matt 22:13), which is a potentially gloomy foreshadowing of Judas' fate.

8.5.3 *Implied or Explicit Intertextuality*

1: Identify the marker(s) in (A) and (B)	The <i>Stichworte</i> would be καταφιλέω and μάχαιρα, and a thematic parallel would be a betrayal.
2: Identify text (B)	The proposed intertext is 2 Sam 20:9–10.
3: Actualization of evocation of text (B) in text (A)	It seems 2 Sam 20:9–10 (B) might be evoked in Matt 26:48–49 (A) to highlight the brutal betrayal of Jesus by Judas, who is likened to a man of blood. Furthermore, Jesus' passivity in the arrest scene starkly contrasts Joab's eagerness to use violence to achieve his aims.

We note the proposed intertext was available and Matthew could have intended it and its effects on the reader. From the perspective of the history of interpretation, we note a lack of references in ancient commentaries, although later thinkers such as Thomas Aquinas and Hugo Grotius see a parallel between Judas' kiss of betrayal and that of Joab in 2 Sam 20:9.⁸⁹ Still more recent commentators likewise see the parallel.⁹⁰

The criterion of recurrence is not met since this is the only instance of a proposed intertext to Joab's betrayal in 2 Sam 20:9–10. However, there are other evocations to the Absalom revolt in Matthew (Matt 21:5; 27:1–5), and 2 Sam 20:9–10 might reasonably be viewed as a continuation of said insurrection. The criterion of volume is reasonably satisfied via the keywords "kiss" and "sword," not to mention the act of betrayal in both narratives. The criteria of thematic coherence and satisfaction seem satisfied because the proposed intertext fits well into Matthew's overall argument regarding Jesus and his portrayal of him as a new David. Certainly, Judas' kiss is one of violence, just like Joab's, even if the violence is not meted out immediately in the Gospel. Despite the explanatory power of the proposed intertext, one cannot classify it as anything more than implied given its limited lexical parallels and the lack of a quotation formula or a more direct referent.

89 Aquinas, *Commentary on the Gospel of Matthew Chapters 13–28*, 403; Hugo Grotius, *Annotiones in libros Evangeliorum* (1641; repr., Amsterdam: Joannis Blaeu, 1697) 1:464.

90 Brown, *Death of the Messiah*, 1:255; Maier, *Evangelium des Matthäus*, 2:561; Klaiber, *Matthäusevangelium*, 2:235; Nolland, *Matthew*, 1110; Luz, *Matthew*, 3:415; Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 3:508–9.

8.5.4 *Conclusions and Narrative Implications*

The keywords “kiss” and “sword” (Matt 26:49, 51–52) likely forge an implied intertext to 2 Sam 20:9–10 and its larger context. While one can view Judas as Joab, typologically, one might also consider the possibility that Jesus functions as an antitype of Joab. Rather than killing those who oppose him and his rule, like Joab, Jesus likely paraphrases Gen 9:6 and chooses willingly to surrender rather than fight. Unlike Joab, Jesus does not rely on violence, nor is he concerned with the trappings of earthly power. Finally, Jesus acknowledges he could have called upon a legion of angels and sarcastically asks if he is leading a rebellion since his opponents are coming for him with weapons drawn. Given the previous intertextual links to the Absalom revolt and its continued effects in Sheba’s insurrection, this last remark again paints Jesus as an antitype of Absalom. Rather than fight, as Absalom did, Jesus chooses not to pick up arms, demonstrating he is the better ruler. In fact, much like David during the Absalom revolt, Jesus too “refuses to retaliate against his enemies, instead entrusting himself to the divine will.”⁹¹

We should briefly note that Edward Selwyn draws numerous parallels between Jesus’ betrayal and material in the Absalom revolt. However, his suggestions are mostly more typological than properly intertextual since many lack lexical parallels and thematic coherence. Selwyn himself notes, “We shall find the resemblance in phraseology rather less, perhaps, than in matter.”⁹² This indeed seems true when he highlights the parallel between *κατὰ πάντα ὅσα αἰρεῖται ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἰδοὺ οἱ παῖδές σου* (2 Sam 15:15 LXX/OG) and *καὶν δέη με σὺν σοὶ ἀποθανεῖν, οὐ μὴ σε ἀπαρνήσομαι*. (Matt 26:35). One only finds a general parallel between the supposed loyalty and willingness of David and Jesus’ followers, and an intertextual connection is thus not pursued. The same goes for Selwyn’s other vague and general parallels between 1–2 Sam and Matthew.⁹³

8.6 1–2 Samuel in Matt 26:59 and 27:1–5

Nathan Johnson suggests an intertextual interplay between Matt 26:59 and Ps 36:32 LXX/OG, which he proposes carries echoes of 1 Sam 19:2.⁹⁴ While

⁹¹ Johnson, “Passion According to David,” 272.

⁹² Edward Selwyn, *The Oracles in the New Testament* (New York, NY: Hodder and Stoughton, 1912), 350.

⁹³ Ibid., 349–51.

⁹⁴ Johnson, *The Suffering Son of David*, 112–13.

Johnson demonstrates the history of interpretation that links Matt 26:59 to Ps 36:32, he is unable to provide any further referent to 1 Sam 19:2. However, the lexical and thematic connections deserve brief further attention.

As Jesus is facing trial before the Sanhedrin, we are told they seek false witnesses so they could kill him. In a possible allusion to Psalm 36:32 LXX/OG,⁹⁵ we are told how the sinner seeks to kill the righteous. Finally, 1 Sam 19:2 tells of how Jonathan warns David that Saul seeks to kill him. The lexical parallels are reasonably strong:

ἐξήτουν ψευδομαρτυρίαν κατὰ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ὅπως αὐτὸν θανατώσωσιν (Matt 26:59)
 ὁ ἁμαρτωλὸς τὸν δίκαιον καὶ ζητεῖ τοῦ θανατώσαι αὐτόν (Psalm 36:32 LXX/OG)
 Σαοὺλ ζητεῖ θανατώσαι σε (1 Sam 19:2 LXX/OG)

I want to propose a window reference from this Davidic psalm to the incident in 1 Sam 19:2. However, we find no history of this kind of association. The reading does fit several of Hays' criteria, and it is especially interesting given the Psalm's focus on righteousness. Jesus will of course be presented as righteous (Matt 27:19), and Saul will eventually declare David more righteous than him (1 Sam 24:18) and seek to kill him. Johnson notes that one "can observe an interplay and dialogue between the Davidic psalms and the narratives."⁹⁶ Still, others note that there is a strong likelihood that both the Psalter and Qohelet regularly allude to 1–2 Samuel.⁹⁷ Based on these general observations, I propose another instance of a window reference: Matt 26:59 (A) → Ps 36:32 (B) → 1 Sam 19:2 (C).

The proposed intertext was available, and Matthew could have intended it and its effects on the reader. From the perspective of the history of interpretation, we note a lack of references in ancient commentaries, and only Johnson explicitly notes the further dialogue from the Psalm to 1 Sam 19:2. However, the intertext fulfills the criterion of thematic coherence as it portrays Jesus again as David, especially in a context of righteousness. The criterion of recurrence is also reasonably fulfilled since Matt 5:5 has already alluded to Ps 36:11 LXX/OG.⁹⁸ In addition, the criterion of volume is fulfilled with the combination of "to

95 Gnllka, *Matthäusevangelium*, 2:426; Müller, *Matthäusevangeliet*, 543.

96 He means 1–2 Samuel. For reference see Johnson, *The Suffering Son of David*, 112–13.

97 Thomas Bolin, "1–2 Samuel and Its Role in the Cultivation of Jewish Paideia in the Persian and Hellenistic Periods," in *Deuteronomy – Kings as Emerging Authoritative Books: A Conversation*, ed. by Diana V. Edelman, ANEA 6 (Atlanta: GA: SBL, 2014), 133–58.

98 Müller, *Matthäusevangeliet*, 142; Gundry, *The Use of the Old Testament in St. Matthew*, 132–33; France, *Matthew*, 166; Hagner, *Matthew 1–13*, 92.

seek" and "to kill." The criterion of satisfaction is reasonably fulfilled as Jesus is paralleled with David, who both have enemies that seek their demise. Ultimately, David will triumph over his enemy, Saul, whereas Jesus has already been betrayed by Judas and is about to be killed by his enemies. Overall, we can label this an implied intertext with reasonable explanatory power.

Judas' response to the condemnation of Jesus by the chief priests and elders of the people is that he repents, changes his mind, gives back the 30 pieces of silver, and then hangs himself (Matt 27:1-5). The Greek word for hanging (ἀπάγχω) occurs only in three places in the Greek versions of the Scriptures, namely in 2 Sam 17:23, Tob 3:10, and Matt 27:3-5. In the case of Tob 3:10, Sarah contemplates hanging herself but decides not to. Thus, Matt 27:5 and 2 Sam 17:23 constitute the only cases where people hang themselves. This creates a substantial parallel, and it is striking that Matthew seemingly rewrites Mark by framing the story of Judas' demise so it mirrors an event in 2 Sam 17:23.⁹⁹ The ideal reader certainly is primed to understand this incident in light of Ahithophel's hanging in 2 Sam 17:23, something neither Mark's nor Luke's readers have explicit reason to do. We should also note that both Ahithophel and Judas are said to have gone out after betraying their respective leaders (ἀπῆλθεν; 1 Sam 17:23/ἀπελθών; Matt 27:5).

8.6.1 2 Sam 17:23 in Its Own Context

The Absalom revolt reveals who is loyal to David, and Ahithophel turns out to be disloyal as he suggests to Absalom that they pursue David while he is weak. However, Hushai cleverly deflates the idea because David and his men are known to be tough fighters (2 Sam 17:1-5). Ahithophel's defection to Absalom leaves him with little choice after David's victory, so he commits suicide by hanging. The narrative clearly outlines the inviolability of YHWH's chosen, David, and it shows how Hushai is loyal to the king, whereas Ahithophel's betrayal results in death.¹⁰⁰

Aside from the potential intertext to 2 Sam 17:23, Matt 27:4 might also contain an intertextual connection to 1 Sam 19:5. In 1 Sam 19:5, Jonathan warns Saul that it would be a mistake to move against David, for he has been beneficial to Saul and the kingdom.¹⁰¹ If Saul were to kill David, he would, in effect, be spilling innocent blood (αἵμα ἄθῶν; 1 Sam 19:5), something a just king of Israel ought not to do.

99 Luz, *Matthew*, 3:467, 3:471.

100 Anderson, *2 Samuel*, 216.

101 Bodner, *1 Samuel*, 204.

8.6.2 *Matt 27:1–5 in Its Own Context*

Matthew portrays Judas' suicide as an act of remorse as he realizes he has betrayed innocent blood (Matt 27:4), an act which Nolland believes "connects 1 Sa. 19:5 to Judas and his words."¹⁰² A cruel irony is that while Judas feels remorse and thus hangs himself, he seems to play a part in a divine plan that Jesus himself has always said would lead to his death. While the proposed intertext calls attention to the fact that YHWH's anointed king is chosen and favored, Matt 27:1–5 indicates that Jesus, ironically, shall not be spared death at the hands of his enemies like David in the Absalom revolt. Furthermore, the intertextual link to 1 Sam 19:5 parallels Saul and Judas, but whereas Saul did not move against YHWH's anointed, Judas now does. The intertextual interplay emphasizes Judas' treachery as a sin against the innocent blood of YHWH's chosen ruler. This kind of ironic reversal is not new in Matthew, yet it makes Judas a more tragic character than Saul and Ahithophel. Judas suffers a double portion as he shares Ahithophel's fate and recapitulates and reverses Saul's decision to spare YHWH's chosen ruler, who is innocent. David Moffitt has highlighted the interesting textual variant in Matt 27:4, which says "righteous blood" rather than "innocent blood," making the statement connect intratextually with Matt 23:35.¹⁰³ While the textual variant is interesting, the common reading functions similarly in that it underscores that shedding righteous/innocent blood will lead to destruction.

8.6.3 *Implied or Explicit Intertext*

1: Identify the marker(s) in (A) and (B)	The <i>Stichworte</i> would be ἀπάγχω, αἷμα ἁθῶν, and ἀπῆλθεν/ἄπελθὼν. A thematic parallel would be the outcome of a traitor's betrayal of YHWH's chosen ruler.
2: Identify text (B)	The proposed intertexts are 2 Sam 17:23 and 1 Sam 19:5.

¹⁰² Nolland, *Matthew*, 1150.

¹⁰³ David Moffitt, "Righteous Bloodshed, Matthew's Passion Narrative, and the Temple's Destruction: Lamentations as a Matthean Intertext," *JBL* 124 (2006): 316.

3: Actualization of evocation of text (B) in text (A)	It seems both 1 Sam 19:5 and 2 Sam 17:23 (B) might be evoked in Matt 27:4–5 (A) to highlight what happens when one betrays YHWH's chosen ruler and to highlight and continue the parallel storylines between David during the Absalom revolt and Jesus' final days in Jerusalem.
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We note the proposed intertexts were available and Matthew could have intended them and their effects on the reader. From the perspective of the history of interpretation, we see at least one ancient reference to the proposed intertexts by John Chrysostom (*Exp. Ps.* 7:16).¹⁰⁴ More recent commentators see a connection to 2 Sam 17:23¹⁰⁵ and others to 1 Sam 19:5.¹⁰⁶

The criterion of recurrence is not exactly met, although one could argue yet another reference to the Absalom revolt constitutes some kind of thematic recurrence. The criterion of volume is reasonably satisfied via the unique key-word ἀπάγω as well as the two words αἶμα ἄθῳον, not to mention the motif of the fate of disloyal betrayers in both narratives. The criteria of thematic coherence and satisfaction seem satisfied because the proposed intertexts fit well into Matthew's overall argument regarding Jesus and his portrayal as a new David. Thematically, the proposed intertexts cohere well with Matthew because both texts share a motif of loyalty to the king. Since the triumphal entry, the ideal reader has been primed to understand many of the events in Jerusalem in light of 1–2 Samuel, especially the Absalom revolt. Since we only have one key-word connecting the two texts, it is difficult to list this as an explicit intertext. However, the history of interpretation shows the text being read in light of 2 Sam 17:23. We can safely label it as an implied intertext that carries significant explanatory power. The proposed intertext between Matt 27:4 and 1 Sam 19:5 can also be labeled as an implied intertext with reasonable explanatory power

¹⁰⁴ John Chrysostom notes how Psalm 7:16 is said to refer to Ahithophel in 1 Sam 17 and then proceeds to spend quite a bit of space comparing his fate to that of Judas. For reference see John Chrysostom, *Commentary on the Psalms*, 2 vols., trans. Robert Charles Hill (Brookline, MA: Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 1998), 1:143 [PG 55:103].

¹⁰⁵ Bonnard, *Matthieu*, 394; Müller, *Matthäusevangelium*, 550; Zacharias, *Matthew's Presentation of the Son of David*, 162; Fiedler, *Matthäusevangelium*, 405; France, *Matthew*, 1041; Maier, *Evangelium des Matthäus*, 2:597; Luz, *Matthew*, 3:471; Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 3:365; Keener, *Matthew*, 659; Konradt, *Matthew: A Commentary*, 412; Johnson, *The Suffering Son of David*, 58.

¹⁰⁶ Nolland, *Matthew*, 1150; Nepper-Christensen, *Matthäusevangelium*, 302.

because it portrays the importance of loyalty to YHWH's chosen leader and acting justly.

8.6.4 *Conclusions and Narrative Implications*

It seems Matthew portrays Jesus' final days in Jerusalem and his followers' (dis)loyalty in light of David in 1–2 Samuel. Zacharias points out several broader points of convergence which would almost fulfill Hays' criterion of recurrence, namely that Matt 26:47 parallels 2 Sam 17:1–4 where Judas and Ahithophel are before the elders, and Ittai professes loyalty to David in 2 Sam 15:19–25, which is what Peter does in Matt 26:33.¹⁰⁷ Much of Judas' betrayal and its immediate context in Matthew finds strong parallels in the Absalom revolt and Ahithophel's betrayal.¹⁰⁸

The narrative implications are fairly simple, and the proposed intertexts seem to move the plot of the story forward in that it spurs on Jesus' destined suffering and death. Yet, they also develop one of the sub-plots in Matthew, namely the kingdom motif. Jesus' kingdom, compared to David's, contains similarities and differences. While both David and Jesus have a disloyal contingent, Jesus will ultimately be victorious in a manner quite apart from David. Rather than having his betrayal thwarted, Judas' betrayal of Jesus leads to suffering and death, a fate Matthew ironically tells the reader is, in fact, a victory. The intertextual interplay between 1 Sam 19:5 and Matt 27:4 especially primes the reader to understand that Jesus' blood is innocent. This notion of innocent blood makes Pilate's upcoming attempts to wash it off his hands impossible (Matt 27:24). One cannot be absolved of innocent blood. Judas is thus juxtaposed with Pilate. Judas acknowledges his guilt, whereas Pilate, farcically as we shall see, attempts to exonerate himself.

8.7 1–2 Samuel in Matt 27:24–25 and an Intratextual Link to Matt 2:6 in Matt 27:11–26

Matthew 27:11–26 contain a significant intratextual connection to the critical narrative metaphor of Jesus as a ruler (ἡγούμενος) who will shepherd Israel (Matt 2:6). As mentioned, this shepherd metaphor in Matt 2:6 creates a framework for how the reader anticipates Jesus' rule. It will be a rule of justice and mercy. Now, in Matt 27:11, Jesus himself is brought before Pilate the ἡγεμῶν, and the readers are thus presented with a juxtaposition. Indeed, Matthew's

¹⁰⁷ Zacharias, *Matthew's Presentation of the Son of David*, 162.

¹⁰⁸ Nathan Johnson lays out a potential sequential parallel between Matthew's arrest narrative and the Absalom revolt. For reference see Johnson, *The Suffering Son of David*, 60.

presentation of Pilate as ἡγούμενος/ἡγεμών, which the other Gospels largely omit, is meant for literary and narrative effect.¹⁰⁹ Are they similar? Do they both rule justly? Or is Jesus the true ἡγούμενος/ἡγεμών in the story? In effect, the emphatic presentation of Pilate as a ἡγεμών constitutes an *inclusio vis-à-vis* Matt 2:6,¹¹⁰ which likely is part of a larger *inclusio* between Matt 2 and Matt 27.¹¹¹

8.7.1 *Pilate the Just?*

While Matthew's term for Pilate, ἡγεμών, can simply be glossed as "governor," the ideal reader likely catches the intratextual link to Matt 2:6 and sees Pilate in light of the larger shepherd-ruler tradition that Jesus has come to epitomize in Matthew's narrative. Furthermore, Davies and Allison see Pilate as the antithesis of the just Joseph who obeys warnings in dreams in Matt 1–2, an observation which coheres with the established motif of justice and righteousness in Matthew's first chapters.¹¹² Callon suggests Matthew "rewrites the scene"¹¹³ as found in Mark in order to present Pilate as less merciful and less deserving of deference. Since Pilate cannot find any fault in Jesus he offers the people a chance to condemn Jesus Barabbas, an act which Origen (*Comm. ser. Matt.* 122)¹¹⁴ believes echoes 1 Sam 14:42–45 LXX/OG. However, the lack of markers means we shall not pursue this proposed intertext further. A more likely backdrop to Jesus Barabbas and Jesus the messiah is the scapegoat motif explored by Hans Moscicke.¹¹⁵

Matthew's unique material of Pilate offering up Jesus Barabbas ends with Pilate's handwashing. But rather than an exculpation of Pilate,¹¹⁶ his handwashing might constitute an ironic condemnation of a ruthless and cunning

109 While Helen Bond notices this she unfortunately does not explore it. For reference see Helen K. Bond, *Pontius Pilate in History and Interpretation*, SNTSMS 100 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 135.

110 Carter, *Matthew and Empire*, 158–59.

111 Berg, *Irony*, 168; Luz, *Matthew*, 3:494.

112 Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 3:590.

113 Callie Callon, "Pilate the Villain: An Alternative Reading of Matthew's Portrayal of Pilate," *BTB* 36 (2006): 64.

114 Origen, *St. Matthew*, 2:733.

115 Hans M. Moscicke, *The New Day of Atonement: A Matthean Typology*, WUNT 2.517 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2020), 116–21. A few problems for the Yom Kippur typology suggested here is that Pilate acts as a priest, an office seemingly reserved for the disciples elsewhere in Matthew. Also, Josephus recounts that Pilate was known for bringing images of the emperor into Jerusalem and try to abolish Jewish laws (*Ant.* 18.3.1), which makes it difficult to use him literarily as a priest except in an extremely ironic and satirical fashion, which is of course what Moscicke suggests.

116 Contra more traditional views of Pilate's innocence; Gundry, *Matthew*, 564; Harrington, *Matthew*, 391–92; Müller, *Matthäusevangeliet*, 557; Nepper-Christensen, *Matthäusevangeliet*, 305; Gnllka, *Matthäusevangelium*, 2:458.

governor who abuses the Jewish ritual from Deut 21:8 whereby he attempts to absolve himself rather than Israel (Matt 27:24).¹¹⁷ Furthermore, Deut 21:7 indicates that an Israelite elder's innocence depends on them not having done nor seen the murder. Pilate is neither an Israelite nor is he going to be able to avoid seeing the upcoming execution of Jesus that he is facilitating.¹¹⁸ If the reader sees Deut 21:1–19 in the background, Pilate's handwashing appears highly ironic.

Nathan Johnson suggests it makes better sense to view Pilate's handwashing in light of the Psalms:¹¹⁹

ἀπενίψατο τὰς χεῖρας ἀπέναντι τοῦ ὄχλου λέγων· Ἀθῶός εἰμι (Matt 27:24)
νίψομαι ἐν ἁθώοις τὰς χεῖράς μου (Ps 25:6 LXX/OG)

Johnson's proposal carries some significant lexical parallels, and the psalm is connected to motifs of innocence and guilt. Much like the previous intertext, this one is still ironic since Pilate cannot wash his hands in innocence and "come out the narrative clean."¹²⁰ A further ironic entailment happens if one hears Pilate's statement (ἀθῶός εἰμι ἀπὸ τοῦ αἵματος τούτου; Matt 27:24) as an echo of David (ἀθῶός εἰμι ἐγώ ... ἀπὸ τῶν αἱμάτων Αβεννηρ; 2 Sam 3:28).¹²¹ Pilate has undoubtedly avoided political turmoil (Matt 27:24), but the text does not exonerate him despite his own words and hand-washing ritual.¹²²

Matthew might then portray Pilate as disrespecting the Mosaic law, which is again ironic since he is also depicted as being aligned with those Jewish leaders who wish for Jesus' execution. Or he might ironically act as the priest of Lev 16:20–21 and wash off his guilt unto the people as the scapegoat.¹²³ In any case, Pilate hands Jesus over just like Judas did, but while Judas was remorseful, Pilate considers himself innocent, which for Matthew presents Pilate as

117 Andrew Simmonds, "Mark's and Matthew's *Sub-Rosa* Message in the Scene of Pilate and the Crowd," *JBL* 131 (2012): 748. Luz remains more ambiguous about the picture of Pilate in the trial although he says Pilate is cast like "Judas and the chief priests" and ultimately finds him guilty "as a marginal player" See Luz, *Matthew*, 3:500, 3:504. Keener likewise seems non-committal as he on one hand cites Gundry and still says the narrative portrays Pilate as *less* guilty. See Keener, *Matthew*, 662.

118 Callon, "Pilate the Villain," 68.

119 Johnson, *The Suffering Davidic Messiah*, 141.

120 *Ibid.*, 143.

121 Müller, *Matthäusevangeliet*, 557; Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 3:591; Luz, *Matthew*, 3:500 n. 70.

122 Hagner, *Matthew 14–28*, 824–25; Konradt, *Matthew: A Commentary*, 417.

123 Moscicke, *The New Day of Atonement*, 117.

someone not to be imitated.¹²⁴ Irony is again employed in Matthew, seeing that Jesus, as the true judge and ruler, is placed before a lesser judge and ruler.¹²⁵ Jesus as the ἡγούμενος is declared a just man by Pilate's wife (Matt 27:19), while Pilate himself as the ἡγεμὼν ends up being portrayed as unjust. Ironically, Pilate's wife simultaneously vindicates Jesus and in a sense undermines her husband. The whole scene portrays Pilate's inability to procure justice. The question is how a proposed intertext to 2 Sam 3:28 aids the reader in light of the above interpretive possibilities.

8.7.2 2 Sam 3:28 in Its Own Context

2 Samuel 3 recounts the war between the houses of Saul and David, portraying how Abner defects from Saul as he realizes David is YHWH's chosen ruler and then enters into a covenant with David and departs in peace (2 Sam 3:17–21).¹²⁶ However, Joab does not trust Abner, rebukes David for his alliance with him, and takes matters into his own hands by eliminating Abner (2 Sam 3:26–7). David is clearly innocent of Abner's death, and the perpetrator of the murder in 2 Samuel 3:27 is Joab, “a man of the sword.”¹²⁷

8.7.3 Implied or Explicit Intertextuality

1: Identify the marker(s) in (A) and (B)	The <i>Stichworte</i> would be ἀθῶός and αἷμα. A thematic parallel would be the innocence of YHWH's chosen ruler.
2: Identify text (B)	The proposed intertext is 2 Sam 3:28
3: Actualization of evocation of text (B) in text (A)	It seems 2 Sam 3:28 (B) might be evoked in Matt 27:24 (A) to highlight the injustice and corruption of Pilate, who is likened to Joab instead of David (who is actually innocent of the blood guilt).

We note the proposed intertext was available and Matthew could have intended it and its effects on the reader. From the perspective of the history of

124 Callon, “Pilate the Villain,” 69.

125 Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 3:593.

126 Brueggemann, *First and Second Samuel*, 227.

127 Ibid., 228.

interpretation, we note a lack of references in ancient commentaries, although more recent commentators see the proposed intertext.¹²⁸

The criterion of recurrence is not exactly met since this is the only instance of a proposed intertext, although one could argue the previous link to Joab in the arrest pericope constitutes some kind of thematic or typological recurrence. The criterion of volume is reasonably satisfied via the keywords ἀθῶός and αἷμα. The criteria of thematic coherence and satisfaction seem satisfied because the proposed intertext fits well into Matthew's overall argument regarding the injustice of Pilate and the Roman Empire. Finally, we can label the proposed intertext as implied and note it contains explanatory power within Matthew's narrative.

8.7.4 *Conclusions and Narrative Implications*

It appears Matthew's portrayal of Pilate as ἡγεμῶν in light of Jesus' status as such, including his rewriting of Mark and the addition of his farcical hand-washing scene, helps further one of the sub-plots of Matthew, namely that of the kingdom of the heavens against the kingdoms of the earth which here becomes a poignant critique of the Roman Empire and her unjust and merciless rulers. Pilate is anything but innocent.¹²⁹ Rather, he willingly tries to exculpate himself from the guilt of condemning the innocent Jesus to death. The intertextual connection to 2 Sam 3:28, where David is genuinely innocent, works ironically in the narrative as Pilate utters similar words as the ἡγούμενος/ἡγεμῶν. On the other hand, the true ἡγούμενος/ἡγεμῶν, Jesus, is indeed like David and is innocent. In this way, the proposed intertext works ironically like another potential intertext, Susanna 1:46, where Daniel declares his innocence.¹³⁰ However, Pilate is akin to the murderous Joab, who uses violence to achieve his political ends.

Intratextually, the keyword ἡγούμενος/ἡγεμῶν links back to Matt 2 where Herod the merciless child killer then serves as an appropriate mirror to Pilate.¹³¹ Thus, we can conclude Pilate is not portrayed as a just ruler in Matthew's story and that this portrayal coheres well with Matthew's overall critique of earthly

128 Gnllka, *Matthäus*, 2:458; Müller, *Matthäusevangeliet*, 557; Maier, *Evangelium des Matthäus*, 2:617; Bonnard, *Matthieu*, 398; Luz, *Matthew*, 3:500 n. 70; Catherine Sider Hamilton, *The Death of Jesus in Matthew: Innocent Blood and the End of Exile*, SNTSMS 167 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 10 n. 28.

129 Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 3:579; Bond *Pilate*, 136; Warren Carter, *Pontius Pilate: Portraits of a Roman Governor* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2003), 98. Contra those scholars who see Pilate as innocent, see n. 116.

130 Callon, "Pilate the Villain," 69.

131 Bond, *Pilate*, 136. Matthias Konradt suggests the parallels between conflict with the highest leadership in Jerusalem link Matt 2 and 27. For reference see Konradt, *Matthew: A Commentary*, 418–19.

kingdoms, including the “injustice of Rome’s touted justice.”¹³² The proposed intertext also helps the reader not to draw pernicious anti-Jewish, anti-semitic, or supersessionist conclusions from this story because Pilate is indeed guilty of condemning Jesus to death. Jesus’ death sentence is the result of unjust actions of both Jews and Gentiles. Pilate’s title as ἡγεμὼν is indeed ironic as he allows something unjust to happen, does not heed his own wife’s advice, and ultimately allows for mob rule.¹³³ Jesus’ condemnation leads us to explore the next potential intertext in 1–2 Samuel, namely the people’s response to Pilate that Jesus’ blood be on them and their children.

8.8 1–2 Samuel in Matthew 27:25

Pilate has just tried to absolve himself by farcically orchestrating a hand-washing reminiscent of Deut 21:8, claiming himself innocent of Jesus’ blood. In response, the people cry out τὸ αἷμα αὐτοῦ ἐφ’ ἡμᾶς καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ τέκνα ἡμῶν (Matt 27:25). The NA²⁸ lists 2 Sam 1:16 and 2 Sam 14:9 as possible intertexts along with Ezek 33:5, Jer 26:15, 51:35, and 1 Kgs 3:33. Due to this study’s focus, we shall look only at the proposed intertexts in 2 Samuel.

8.8.1 2 Sam 1:16, 14:9 in Their Own Contexts

2 Samuel 1:16 appears within a segment of 1–2 Samuel that deals with David’s ascent to the throne, and the death of Saul thus looms large in the narrative. Upon receiving the news of Saul’s and Jonathan’s demise, David is sorrowful (2 Sam 1:11–12) and condemns the Amalekite messenger who has killed YHWH’s anointed, Saul. Although David had the chance to take Saul’s life, he never did.¹³⁴ Rather than receiving a reward, the Amalekite messenger is sentenced to death on David’s orders (2 Sam 1:15), and David declares to the messenger τὸ αἷμά σου ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν σου (2 Sam 1:16). The lexical parallels between this text and Matt 27:25 are thus the words κεφαλὴ and αἷμα and a thematic link is the death, or death sentence, of YHWH’s anointed.

In 2 Samuel 14:9, David comes to the defense of a woman from Tekoa who feigns a story of her yearning for her son. David is ironically unaware of the similarity of their situations, and the woman says it will be on her if David’s decision to protect her and her son goes awry. Specifically, she says, ἐπ’ ἐμέ κύριέ μου βασιλεῦ ἢ ἀνομία καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν οἶκον τοῦ πατρός μου καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ ὁ

¹³² Carter, *Matthew and Empire*, 147.

¹³³ Turner, *Matthew*, 655.

¹³⁴ Brueggemann, *First and Second Samuel*, 212.

θρόνος αὐτοῦ ἄθῳος (2 Sam 14:9 LXX/OG). The sole lexical parallel is the word ἄθῳος, and one understands that both 2 Sam 14:9 and Matt 27:25 portray a party taking responsibility for something. However, the thematic and lexical parallels are greater between 2 Sam 1:16 and Matt 27:25, which is thus the link we shall pursue. 2 Sam 14:9 nevertheless constitutes an implied intertext with some explanatory power and is noted by at least one scholar.¹³⁵

8.8.2 *Matthew 27:25 in Its Own Context*

Catherine Sider Hamilton notes that while the innocent blood of Jesus ironically provides for the salvation of those Jews who are crying for his crucifixion, the notion of his blood being on them and their children is also ominous and entails a sense of judgment.¹³⁶ Hamilton furthermore argues Matt 27:24–25 is part of a larger motif of innocent blood in the Gospel, and one must view it in light of intratextual links to chapters 2 and 23 in order to understand Matthew's narrative logic.¹³⁷

Much like the word ἡγγεμών creates an intratextual link from Pilate in chapter 27 to Jesus in chapter 2, so does the word τέκνα connect Matt 27:25 with Matt 2:18 whereby the ideal reader sees that unjust murder by royal or imperial decree is a common denominator.¹³⁸ While it is beyond the scope of the present project to investigate fully the implications of these intratextual links, it serves us well to recognize this kind of literary device in Matthew whereby he connects motifs within his Gospel and forges connections between chapters 27 and 2.

The crowd's exclamation and willing acceptance of the responsibility of Jesus' death should be seen in light of certain Jewish leaders egging on the crowd to demand the release of Barabbas (Matt 27:20), as well as in view of the notion that Pilate and the Jewish leaders must be seen as working together in some sense.¹³⁹ Notably, Matthew does not say it is the "crowd" (Matt 27:20) that calls for Jesus' death, but the "whole people" (Matt 27:25). However, this change from the crowds to the whole people has been used to condemn the entire Jewish people, which the context hardly allows. Rather, the "whole people" denotes the crowds assembled before Pilate.¹⁴⁰

The passage might contain overtones of Yom Kippur, and reading it in such a light would quite ironically portray Pilate as the priest who washes the blood

¹³⁵ Nolland, *Matthew*, 1178.

¹³⁶ Hamilton, *The Death of Jesus in Matthew*, 12. For this ironic entailment see also Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Gospels*, 135–36.

¹³⁷ Hamilton, *The Death of Jesus in Matthew*, 13–14.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, 42.

¹³⁹ Turner, *Matthew*, 656.

¹⁴⁰ Konradt, *Israel, Kirche und die Völker*, 172, 177, 180.

of the sacrificed goat, Jesus, off of his hands and transfers the guilt unto the scapegoat, which is then ironically transferred to the crowd.¹⁴¹ If one follows this Yom Kippur trajectory, the crowd assumes the scapegoat's role, which is released into the wilderness, a wilderness which for Matthew is Jerusalem.¹⁴² Despite reservations about Pilate as the priest, I do think the Yom Kippur scapegoat imagery and transfer of bloodguilt cohere with the proposed intertext to 2 Sam 1:16, which specifies which kind of blood guilt the crowd is guilty of, namely that of YHWH's anointed. The result of blood guilt against YHWH's anointed is death in 2 Sam 1:16. If Matthew transfers this meaning to the crowd before Pilate, the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 CE becomes a poignant historical fulfillment for the reader.¹⁴³ In addition, the innocent blood intratextually connects to Matt 23:35, which likely connects with Lam 4:13 and makes it evident the death of Jesus, the spilling of righteous blood, will result in the destruction of the temple and Jerusalem.¹⁴⁴

8.8.3 *Implied or Explicit Intertextuality*

1: Identify the marker(s) in (A) and (B)	The <i>Stichworte</i> would be κεφαλή, ἐπί, and αἷμα. A thematic parallel would be the innocence/guilt of the YHWH's anointed and those who want to kill him.
2: Identify text (B)	The proposed intertext is 2 Sam 1:16
3: Actualization of evocation of text (B) in text (A)	It seems 2 Sam 1:16 (B) might be evoked in Matt 27:25 (A) to highlight the guilt of the people who condemn Jesus and that death and destruction is the result of such blood guilt. Or it might be an evocation meant to create a further ironic juxtaposition between Pilate and Jesus, both called ἡγούμενος/ ἡγεμών.

We note the proposed intertext was available and Matthew could have intended it and its effects on the reader. It seems that 2 Sam 1:16 is part of a

141 Hans M. Moscicke, "Jesus, Barabbas, and the Crowd as Figures in Matthew's Day of Atonement Typology (Matthew 27:15–26)," *JBL* 139 (2020): 145.

142 *Ibid.*, 146.

143 J. Andrew Overman, *Church and Community in Crisis: The Gospel According to Matthew* (Valley Forge, PA: Trinity Press, 1996), 383.

144 Moffitt, "Righteous Bloodshed, Matthew's Passion Narrative," 308–9.

series of scriptural referents, i.e. Josh 2:19, 1 Kgs 2:32–33, and Jer 26:15, which all treat the notion of blood guilt.¹⁴⁵ From the perspective of the history of interpretation, we note a lack of references in ancient commentaries, although more recent commentators see the proposed intertext.¹⁴⁶

The criterion of volume is reasonably satisfied. However, the lexical parallels consist of rather common terms that constitute a trope in the Jewish Scriptures regarding blood guilt. As such, the specific link to 2 Sam 1:16 is tenuous. The criterion of recurrence is also not satisfied. The criterion of thematic coherence seems to work fairly well since the proposed intertext might highlight the crowd's blood guilt vis-à-vis their willing execution of YHWH's anointed. This helps satisfy the criterion of satisfaction since the proposed intertext elucidates the main theme in Jesus' trial, namely whether it is proper to kill YHWH's chosen ruler, especially if he is innocent. The ideal reader is more likely to see a connection because Matt 27 contains multiple links to 1–2 Samuel. However, the proposed intertext must be considered implied since it does not fulfill all of our criteria.

8.8.4 *Conclusions and Narrative Implications*

The intertextual interplay with 2 Sam 1:16 makes it clear that contributing to the unjust death of YHWH's anointed is calamitous and often results in the demise of the transgressor(s).¹⁴⁷ The other potential intertexts to Ezekiel, Jeremiah, and Lamentations hint at the same.¹⁴⁸ The proposed intertext to 2 Sam 1:16 is part of a much larger typological setting where Matthew draws upon typologies from Exodus, Deuteronomistic curses, and Yom Kippur.¹⁴⁹ However, the proposed intertext to 2 Sam 1:16 highlights the sacrificed goat, the deliverer whom both Pilate and the people are guilty of condemning to death, is none other than YHWH's anointed. The proposed intertext juxtaposes David, who did not kill YHWH's anointed, with the people and Pilate, who are currently condemning the LORD's anointed to death. While the proposed intertext does not follow the general pattern of Jesus vis-à-vis David, it still helps the reader acquire a richer understanding of the text. However, the parallel between David's condemning words to a single messenger and the crowd's own declaration is

¹⁴⁵ Moscicke, *The New Day of Atonement*, 128.

¹⁴⁶ Brown, *Death of the Messiah*, 1:838; Maier, *Evangelium des Matthäus*, 2:619; Konradt, *Israel, Kirche und die Völker*, 177; Müller, *Matthäusevangeliet*, 557; Luz, *Matthew*, 3:502 n. 83; Overman, *Church and Community in Crisis*, 382–83; Gnllka, *Matthäusevangelium*, 2:458.

¹⁴⁷ Overman, *Church and Community in Crisis*, 383.

¹⁴⁸ Luz, *Matthew*, 3:504.

¹⁴⁹ Daniel Stökl Ben Ezra, *The Impact of Yom Kippur on Early Christianity: The Day of Atonement from Second Temple Judaism to the Fifth Century*, WUNT 163 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003), 165–73.

strained. The intertexts to 1–2 Samuel do not always conform to a Jesus-David comparison and do not always fit perfectly.

8.9 1–2 Samuel in Matt 27:34

As Jesus arrives at the place of his crucifixion, he is offered some sour drink mixed with gall. However, Jesus refuses to drink it after tasting it. This instance in Matthew is often considered to connect intertextually with Ps 69:22,¹⁵⁰ which then portrays Jesus as “the righteous sufferer who, in that psalm, is ill-treated because of his loyalty to God.”¹⁵¹ While the sour wine episode ties Matthew to this particular psalm of David, Nathan Johnson asks if Jesus’ refusal to drink might not also relate to David in 2 Sam 23:16b since we find a great degree of lexical parallels:¹⁵²

Δαυίδ, καὶ οὐκ ἠθέλησεν πινεῖν αὐτὸ (2 Sam 23:16b LXX/OG)
καὶ γευσάμενος οὐκ ἠθέλησεν πινεῖν (Matt 27:34)

8.9.1 1–2 Samuel in Its Own Context

2 Samuel 23:13–17 contains the exploits of David’s best warriors. While David is at the cave of Adullam, he expresses a desire for water from a well in Bethlehem that is currently under Philistine control (2 Sam 23:14–16). Three warriors break through the Philistine lines and return with water. David then says he will not drink the water and instead pours it out as an act of reverence or “worship” to YHWH.¹⁵³ The significance here is likely that David cannot drink the water because “only Yahweh is worthy of such sacrificial action.”¹⁵⁴ In addition, Bar-Efrat notes that the point David makes in pouring out the water and equating it with blood is; “Das Leben eines Menschen darf nicht nur um persönlicher Begierden eines Führes oder Befehlshabers willen gefährdet werden.”¹⁵⁵ The point seems to be that David is acting in a noble manner, signaling that only YHWH is worthy of these kinds of sacrificial acts. He also seems to realize that he has risked the lives of his men and, therefore, refuses to drink the water. If this passage is alluded to in Matt 27:34, we should expect to find similar entailments.

150 Alida C. Euler, “Drinking Gall and Vinegar: Psalm 69:22: An Underestimated Intertext in Matt 27:34, 48,” *ZNW* 112, no. 1 (2021): 130–140; Müller, *Matthäusevangeliet*, 560; Hagner, *Matthew 14–28*, 834; Evans, *Matthew*, 435; Fiedler, *Matthäusevangelium*, 414.

151 France, *Matthew*, 1068.

152 Johnson, *The Suffering Son of David*, 154.

153 Firth, *1–2 Samuel*, 535.

154 Ibid., 535.

155 Bar-Efrat, *Das Zweite Buch Samuel*, 249.

8.9.2 *Matthew 27:34 in Its Own Context*

Jesus refuses the drink he is offered. But rather than being nice water from Bethlehem, he is offered a seemingly vile drink that is meant to mock him.¹⁵⁶ Jesus is then crucified, his clothes divided by casting lots, and finally the reader is told the soldiers put a sign above him indicating him as the king of the Jews, which becomes the ultimate mockery. Jesus is here dying for the sins of many after having been left by Pilate to face the condemnation of the crowds. The scene is undoubtedly monarchical, as Jesus is mockingly dressed in royal garb, reviled, and designated as the king of the Jews (Matt 27:29, 37). These royal parallels make a potential intertext to Davidic episodes in the Jewish Scriptures all the more likely.

8.9.3 *Implied or Explicit Intertext*

1: Identify the marker(s) in (A) and (B)	The <i>Stichworte</i> would be the rare sequence of the words οὐκ ἠθέλησεν πίνειν present in both texts. A thematic parallel is people losing their lives based on the personal desires of a leader.
2: Identify text (B)	The proposed intertext is 2 Sam 23:16b
3: Actualization of evocation of text (B) in text (A)	It seems 2 Sam 23:16b (B) might be evoked in Matt 27:34 (A) to highlight Jesus as a true leader, a true son of David, who does not wish to risk the lives of others but instead gives up his own. Like David refused to drink and instead poured out the water as an act of worship, so too Jesus refuses to drink and now pours his own blood out as an act of worship to YHWH. Given the proximity of this story to the Pilate scene, we might again be invited to see Pilate as the antithesis of Jesus via a literary allusion to David. Pilate, who has desired to leave Jesus at the mercy of the crowd, is the opposite of David, who claims that people should not die based on a leader's personal desires.

156 Euler, "Drinking Gall and Vinegar," 135–36; Müller, *Matthäusevangeliet*, 560.

We note that the intertext was available and that Matthew could have intended it and its effects. Nathan Johnson notes the direct link between Matt 27:34 and 2 Sam 23:16.¹⁵⁷ Adolf von Schlatter notes the link to the parallel passage in 1 Chr 11:19.¹⁵⁸ And at least one ancient commentator also connects the texts typologically.¹⁵⁹ The criterion of recurrence is reasonably satisfied as the Psalms are frequently used in Jesus' passion, and at least one of them, Ps 18, connects directly with 2 Sam 22. The interweaving of the Davidic psalms with the narratives of David in 1–2 Samuel is thus already present and helps create a sense of recurrence and thematic coherence. The most robust case for including this intertext is the criterion of volume. As Johnson says, "οὐκ ᾔθέλησεν πιεῖν appears nowhere else in contemporaneous Greek literature, only in 2 Samuel and Matthew."¹⁶⁰ The criterion of satisfaction is perhaps the most difficult to fulfill as the two texts do not offer clear parallels. One has to interpret David's act of equating water with blood and pouring it out before YHWH as akin to what is happening to Jesus as the son of David in the crucifixion. The possible ironic entailments of seeing Pilate as an anti-type of David might also be a stretch to some. Nevertheless, we can classify this as an implied intertext with reasonable explanatory power.

8.9.4 *Conclusions and Narrative Implications*

If we read David's action of pouring out the water before YHWH as signifying a worshipful, reverent, and sacrificial act, then we can perhaps better entertain the proposed intertext to Jesus in Matt 27:34.¹⁶¹ David gives an offering by pouring water, whereas Jesus, the righteous, suffering, son of David, gives his life for the ransom of many. This kind of cultic context should not be ignored if we take seriously the potential for a Yom Kippur typology in the preceding trial narrative.

I wonder if we have an example of a compound allusion. The wine and gall allude to Ps 69:22, and Jesus' refusal to drink it connects with 2 Sam 23:16. Given that Jesus is being mocked as the king of Jews, an allusion to David

157 Johnson, *The Suffering Son of David*, 154–55.

158 Adolf von Schlatter, *Der Evangelist Matthäus: seine Sprache, sein Ziel, seine Selbständigkeit* (Stuttgart: Calwer, 1929), 780. Schlatter cites the Greek of 2 Sam 23:16 but lists 1 Chronicles 11:19 as the reference.

159 Ambrose of Milan connects David passing up the drink of water with a deeper sense that he was longing for Christ's blood, his sacrifice for the sake of sinners (non aquarum sitiebat elementum, sed sanguinem Christi). For reference see *De apologia prophetarum David* (CSEL 32.2:320).

160 Johnson, *The Suffering Son of David*, 155.

161 Firth, *1–2 Samuel*, 535.

is fitting. I agree with Johnson that 2 Samuel 23 would have been useful for Matthew.¹⁶² Also, we know that Matthew has used compound citations, so a compound allusion should not be ruled out. If we also see Pilate as part of this story, he ironically becomes the antithesis of David by pouring out innocent Jesus' blood. This ironic entailment has a precedent in the trial narrative in Matt 27:24–25 and should not be dismissed as it further highlights Jesus as the true Davidic ἡγούμενος/ἡγεμών.

8.10 1–2 Samuel in Matt 27:41–51

After the fateful trial before Pilate, Jesus is crucified as the king of the Jews, a clear demarcation of his status as a Davidic ruler. Matthew adds some unique material to his Markan source as people are reviling Jesus on the cross when they urge YHWH to deliver him (Matt 27:43–44). Finally, Matthew adds an earthquake and splitting rocks to Mark's account of the tearing of the curtain in the temple. Adela Yarbro Collins suggests that Jesus' cry from the cross in the pre-Markan passion narrative likely alludes to Ps 18 because of shared motifs such as a theophany and because the protagonists in both texts utter a cry of help and are ultimately vindicated by YHWH.¹⁶³ Some Matthean scholars suggest Ps 18 is alluded to in Matt 27:51,¹⁶⁴ and most recently, Brian Carrier states that the theophanic language and earthquake of Matt 27 likely "envision[s] the coming of God at the death of his son" and notes that "Psalm 18:4–15 is especially suggestive."¹⁶⁵ The fact that David's song from Ps 18 is also reflected in 2 Sam 22 means we might again be dealing with a double allusion or window reference by which the reader encounters 2 Sam 22:1–25 through Ps 18¹⁶⁶ or

¹⁶² Johnson, *The Suffering Son of David*, 159.

¹⁶³ Adela Yarbro Collins, "From Noble Death to Crucified Messiah," *NTS* 40 (1994): 497–98.

¹⁶⁴ Reinhard Kratz, *Auferweckung als Befreiung: Eine Studie zur Passions- und Auferstehungstheologie des Matthäus (besonders Mt 27,62–28, 15)*, SBS 65 (Stuttgart: KBW, 1973), 12, 41–47.

¹⁶⁵ Carrier, *Earthquakes and Eschatology in the Gospel According to Matthew*, 163 n. 98.

¹⁶⁶ For an argument that 2 Sam 22 likely predates Ps 18 on orthographic grounds see Frank Moore Cross and David Noel Freedman, "A Royal Song of Thanksgiving: 11 Samuel 22 = Psalm 18," *JBL* 72 (1953): 15–34. Furthermore, Beat Weber argues that Psalm 18 "presuppose the books of Samuel and call them to mind." For reference see Beat Weber, "At the Time when Yhwh Delivered Him out of the Palm of all His Enemies and out of the Hand of Saul' (Psalm 18,1): From David in the Book of Samuel to David in the Book of Psalms and Back Again," *SJOT* 32 (2018): 297.

vice versa.¹⁶⁷ If Matthew 27:41–43 connects intertextually with Ps 18, it also connects with 2 Sam 22 because of its intertextual interplay with Ps 18 and their likely shared source.¹⁶⁸ Before treating texts (A) and (B) in their own contexts, we may sketch a rough conceptual parallel between 2 Sam 22 and Matt 27 as follows:

Death is close (2 Sam 22:5)	Death is close (Matt 27:41–43).
In distress, David calls upon YHWH (2 Sam 22:7)	In distress, Jesus cries out to YHWH (Matt 27:46).
From his temple, YHWH hears David’s cry (2 Sam 22:7)	The veil in the temple is torn (Matt 27:51).
Earth trembles (2 Sam 22:8)	Earth trembles (Matt 27:51).
YHWH descends and rescues David from his enemies (2 Sam 22:10–18)	YHWH seemingly does not descend to rescue Jesus from his enemies initially (Matt 27:50), but later appears to rescue both Jesus and his people (Matt 27:52).

While darkness ensues as YHWH descends to scatter David’s enemies (2 Sam 22:12), darkness is present already at the beginning of Jesus’ crucifixion and does not follow his cry and the trembling of the earth. However, darkness is a motif in both narratives and should be mentioned as a conceptual parallel. Another element that might connect Jesus to David during his crucifixion is that he cries out with a loud voice (ἀνεβόησεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς φωνῇ μεγάλῃ λέγων; Matt 27:46), which Nathan Johnson suggests parallels David’s cry for Absalom (καὶ ἔκραξεν ὁ βασιλεὺς φωνῇ μεγάλῃ λέγων· υἱέ μου Ἀβεσσαλώμ;

167 For a list of scholars who argue that Ps 18 likely predates 2 Sam 22 see Vivian L. Johnson, *David in Distress: His Portrait Through the Historical Psalms*, LHBOTS 505 (London: T&T Clark, 2009): 112; B. Weber, “Das königlich-davidische Danklied 2 Samuel 22 / Psalm 18 im Kontext von Psalm 1–18: Eine (proto)kanonische Lesung vom Ende der Samuelbücher her zum Anfangsbereich des Psalters hin,” in *Canterò in eterno le misericordie del Signore* (Sal 89,2). FS Gianni Barbiero, eds. S.M. Attard and M. Pavand, AnBib.Studia, 3 (Rome: Gregorian and Biblical Press, 2015), 187–204.

168 David Willgren, *The Formation of the ‘Book’ of Psalms: Reconsidering the Transmission and Canonization of Psalmody in Light of Material Culture and the Poetics of Anthologies*, FAT 2.88 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2016), 294–95; Donald K. Berry, *The Psalms and Their Readers: Interpretive Strategies for Psalm 18*, JSOTSupp 153 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993), 23.

2 Sam 19:5 LXX/OG).¹⁶⁹ While the lexical combination φωνή μεγάλη is not as unique as οὐκ ἠθέλησεν πειν in Matt 27:34, the link to David does make thematic sense. However, the context of David's cry for Absalom and Jesus' cry to YHWH hardly helps us better understand the text. We shall thus note the lexical parallel and label it an implied intertext, but we shall not pursue the link further since it lacks explanatory power. I agree with Johnson's notion that this intertext continues a thematic link to the Absalom revolt.¹⁷⁰ Still, I do not see how David's cry over his son Absalom "coordinates" in any meaningful way with Jesus' last cry from the cross other than in a generic typological way that has already been established and is not further developed by linking the two narratives.¹⁷¹ The more significant intertext remains Ps 18/2 Sam 22.

8.10.1 2 Sam 22:1–20 in Its Own Context

David's song functions as a literary bookend and counter-piece to Hannah's song in 1 Sam 2:1–10, and both songs are addressed to YHWH.¹⁷² David's song summarizes much of 1–2 Samuel's purpose, highlighting YHWH's sovereignty and deliverance. The song illustrates, as does much of 1–2 Samuel, that it is not the Israelite king who delivers but YHWH himself, the suzerain. The song can thus be considered a hymn of deliverance,¹⁷³ which is also found in Ps 18. The point of the song is that David is in danger and cries to YHWH for deliverance who hears it from his temple (ναοῦ αὐτοῦ; 2 Sam 22:7). Because of his anger at David's predicament, the earth is shaken (ἐσείσθη ἡ γῆ; 2 Sam 22:8), and in anger YHWH thunders from heaven and disperses David's enemies so that he ultimately saves him from his strong enemy (2 Sam 22:18). David is thus delivered to a place of freedom, which "David enjoys because of Yahweh's delight in him."¹⁷⁴

Interestingly, the song declares that YHWH's delight is likely based upon David's righteousness and innocence (2 Sam 22:21). The notion of YHWH delighting in David in 2 Sam 22:20 seems to be echoed in Ps 22:9/21:9 LXX/OG, meaning 2 Sam 22 is not only present in Ps 18¹⁷⁵ but is also likely the "literary source" for Ps 22:9/21:9 LXX/OG.¹⁷⁶ Joyce Rilett Woods' suggestion that the shared word פָּדַן in Ps 22:9 and Ps 18:20/2 Sam 22:20, as well as the title of Ps 22

169 Johnson, *The Suffering Son of David*, 178.

170 Ibid., 179.

171 Ibid., 179.

172 Brueggemann, *First and Second Samuel*, 339.

173 Ibid., 340.

174 Firth, *1–2 Samuel*, 519.

175 Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation*, 403–7.

176 Joyce Rilett Wood, "Writing and Rewriting of Psalm 22," *SR* 48 (2019): 203.

being alluded to in Ps 18:34/2 Sam 20:34, form a link is certainly suggestive.¹⁷⁷ John Goldingay likewise notes פִּנּוּ creates a parallel between Ps 22:9 and Ps 18.¹⁷⁸ 2 Samuel 22 is thus intertextually connected to both Ps 18 and likely to parts of Ps 22 as well.

The Targum of 2 Sam 22 intriguingly connects David's rescue to the rescue of the whole people, linking the song to the Exodus story, seemingly portraying a collective salvation because individual rescue is perceived as selfish.¹⁷⁹ Whereas the MT and LXX/OG note that it is David who is delivered, the Targum notes YHWH saved Israel from their enemies and also David from the hand of Saul (Tg. 2 Sam 22:1). Though it is beyond the scope of this work to investigate the motif of corporate salvation in the Targum thoroughly, this corporate nature of YHWH's rescue might help elucidate the corporate raising of the saints in Matt 27:52. If there is an intertextual interplay with 2 Sam 22, then the targumic tradition about the corporate focus on salvation or vindication¹⁸⁰ is at least suggestive. Both the saints and Jesus are raised in Matthew just like David and all Israel are vindicated in the Targum, seemingly because the fate of the nation's chosen leader is linked to the people. The corporate salvation/vindication in the Targum of 2 Sam 22:1 is not present in the Targum of Ps 18:1.

8.10.2 *Matt 27:41–51 in Its Own Context*

Before proceeding further, it will be beneficial to outline the special Matthean material regarding Jesus' crucifixion. Matthew largely follows Mark but adds that the chief priests, scribes, and elders additionally deride Jesus by saying πέποιθεν ἐπὶ τὸν θεόν, ῥυσάσθω νῦν εἰ θέλει αὐτόν· εἶπεν γὰρ ὅτι θεοῦ εἰμι υἱός (Matt 27:43).

Jesus' ridicule and suffering at the hands of his enemies result in his death (Matt 27:50), which is then followed by καὶ ἰδοὺ in verse 51, signaling something unexpected is about to occur.¹⁸¹ While the most unexpected happens in verse 52, we shall focus on verse 51, namely the veil of the temple splitting (τὸ καταπέτασμα τοῦ ναοῦ ἐσχίσθη; Matt 27:51), and the shaking of the ground (ἡ γῆ ἐσείσθη; Matt 27:51). The torn veil also occurs in Mark, and Roger Aus suggests the torn veil in YHWH's abode signifies YHWH himself tearing his garment as he is lamenting the death of Jesus.¹⁸² This interesting reading fits well

177 Ibid., 204.

178 John Goldingay, *Psalms*, 3 vols., BCOTWP (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2006–2008), 1:296.

179 van Staaldouine-Sulman, *The Targum of Samuel*, 643, 648.

180 Ibid., 663.

181 Gurtner, *The Torn Veil*, 141–43.

182 Roger David Aus, *Samuel, Saul, Jesus: Three Early Palestinian Jewish Christian Gospel Haggadoth*, SFSHJ 105 (Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1994), 148; Nolland, *Matthew*, 1212.

with the intertextual parallels to David in 2 Sam 22, where YHWH hears him in his temple. More importantly, the earthquake following the torn veil is a Matthean redaction. Only a handful of passages in the Jewish Scriptures have the passive ἐσεισθη, including 2 Sam 22:8. The best potential intertext is thus 2 Sam 22:8 with its rare lexical form ἐσεισθη, which puts Ps 17:8 LXX/OG further in the background as it reads καὶ ἐσαλεύθη καὶ ἔντρομος ἐγενήθη ἡ γῆ.

The claim that YHWH should rescue Jesus if he delights in him (Matt 27:43) might furthermore connect intertextually to 2 Sam 22:18, 20 through a window reference to Ps 22:9/21:9. The phrase εἰ θέλει αὐτόν in Matt 27:43 is likely an unmarked quotation from Ps 22:9.¹⁸³ The Septuagint version of the psalm creates intertextual parallels to Matt 27:43 by the following underlined key words; ἤλπισεν ἐπὶ κύριον ῥυσάσθω αὐτόν σωσάτω αὐτόν ὅτι θέλει αὐτόν (Ps 21:9).

Following our previous discussion of the connection between Ps 22:9 and 2 Sam 22:20, particularly in the Hebrew, we can then suggest a possible window reference from Matt 27:43 through Ps 22:9 and unto 2 Sam 22:20. The Greek of 2 Sam 22:20 says εὐδόκησεν ἐν ἐμοί, but the Hebrew reads יָצַח רַחֲמֵי. The Hebrew רַחַח as “delight” is rendered in Greek as a form of θέλω in 1 Sam 15:22, 18:22; 2 Sam 15:26, which is likely what εἰ θέλει αὐτόν conveys in Matt 27:43¹⁸⁴ thus enabling a window reference. We have several potential intertextual connections between 2 Sam 22 and Matt 27:41–51, one of which emerges via a window reference. Given the complexity, an illustration might be helpful.

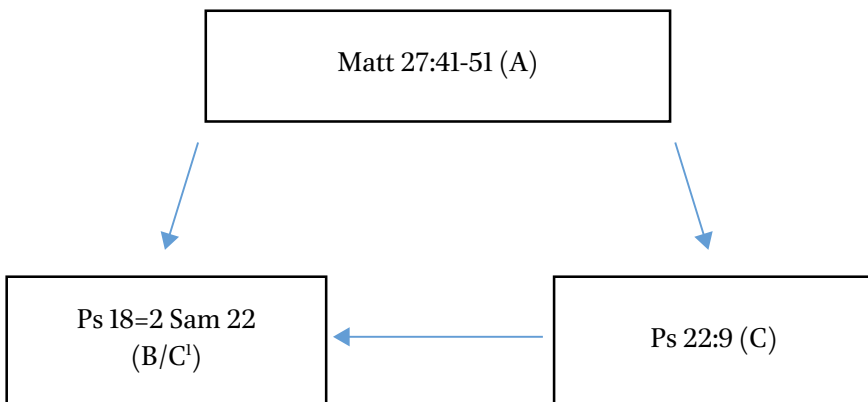


FIGURE 2

183 J.J. Menken, “The Psalms in Matthew’s Gospel,” in *The Psalms in the New Testament*, eds. Steve Moyise and J.J. Menken (London: T&T Clark, 2004), 62; Keener, *Matthew*, 682–83; Luz, *Matthew*, 3:542.

184 Wesley Olmstead, *Matthew 15–28*, BHGNT (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2019), 384.

8.10.3 *Implied or Explicit Intertextuality*

1: Identify the marker(s) in (A) and (B/C/C ¹)	The <i>Stichworte</i> would be the rare passive form ἐσείσθη, as well as ναός. In Matt 27:51 (A) and 2 Sam 22:1–8 (B). In addition, one sees conceptual and thematic parallels between David being close to death at the hands of his enemies and Jesus' crucifixion. In addition, Matt 27:43 (A) connects to Ps 22:9 (C), which might form a window reference to 2 Sam 22:20 (C ¹) through the Hebrew word נָפַח and the general conceptual parallels between the delight of YHWH in both David and Jesus.
2: Identify text (B/C ¹)	The proposed intertext, via metalepsis and window reference, is 2 Sam 22:1–25.
3: Actualization of evocation of text (B/C/C ¹) in text (A)	It seems 2 Sam 22:1–25 (B/C ¹) might be evoked in Matt 27:43–51 (A) to highlight a tension within the narrative, namely whether YHWH will save his chosen ruler, Jesus the Son of David, from his enemies.

We note the proposed intertext was available and Matthew could have intended it and its effects on the reader. From the perspective of the history of interpretation, we note a lack of references in ancient commentaries, although a few more recent commentators see the proposed intertext to 2 Sam 22.¹⁸⁵ Furthermore, some scholars see an allusion to Ps 18, which then generates a double allusion or window reference to 2 Sam 22.¹⁸⁶

The criterion of recurrence is harder to establish, but there are potential other links to Ps 18 in Matt 8:23–27 and Matt 14:30–31.¹⁸⁷ The other intertextual

185 Nolland, *Matthew*, 1213; Gnllka, *Matthäusevangelium*, 2 :476 ; Michel Gourgues, "Il entendit de son temple ma voix: echos du 'cantique de David' (Ps 18 = 2 S 22) en Mt 27, 50–51 et dans le Nouveau Testament," in *Où Demeures-Tu? (Jn 1,38) La Maison Depuis le Monde Biblique en Hommage au Professeur Guy Couturier à l'occasion de Ses Soixante-Cinq Ans*, eds. J.-C. Petit and André Bergeron (Montreal: Fides, 1994), 323–41.

186 Collins, "Crucified Messiah," 498; Carrier, *Earthquakes and Eschatology*, 163 n. 98; Kratz, *Auferweckung als Befreiung*, 12, 41–47.

187 Carrier, *Earthquakes and Eschatology*, 99; Hagner, *Matthew 14–28*, 425.

links to Ps 18 increase the odds of one in Matt 27:43–51 and, thus, a link to 2 Sam 22. The criterion of volume fares better since we do see lexical parallels between the two texts. The criterion of thematic coherence is satisfied since one sees substantial parallels between David and Jesus. The few keywords that establish an intertextual link are strengthened by the conceptual parallels of YHWH's chosen ruler or king being near death, crying out, being surrounded by his enemies, and YHWH finally descending from his abode accompanied by an earthquake and darkness.¹⁸⁸ That Matt 27:43 also evokes a Davidic psalm (Ps 22) makes the likelihood of the evocation of Ps 18/2 Sam 22 greater and certainly creates a sense of thematic cohesion.

The criterion of satisfaction is reasonably satisfied because the proposed intertext coheres with Matthew's plot and themes, particularly his portrayal of Jesus as the son of David. Finally, the lexical markers combined with the conceptual and thematic parallels make for a plausible intertextual connection. The fact that the proposed intertext carries significant explanatory power makes it even more valid. However, the intertext must be considered implied.

8.10.4 *Conclusions and Narrative Implications*

One must rely on metalepsis and window references to fully appreciate the potential intertextual connection between (A) Matt 27:43–51 and (B/C¹) 2 Sam 22:1–25. The more obvious citation of Ps 22:9 in Matt 27:43 coheres well with the general allusion to Ps 18 in Matt 27:41–51 since both psalms are part of a collection of Psalms (Pss 3–41), called “Book 1” and which “invite the readers to hear and interpret them in relation to David.”¹⁸⁹ In addition to lexical and thematic parallels, this Davidic focus makes Joyce Rilett Wood see a connection between 2 Sam 22 and Ps 18 and Ps 22. One can see a direct intertextual link between 2 Sam 22 and Matt 27:41–51, like Nolland and Gourges, or one can view the intertextual link to Ps 18, like Collins, Kratz, and Carrier, as well as the citation from Ps 22:9, as a window reference unto David in 2 Sam 22. Either way, the ideal reader's attention is brought to David in 2 Sam 22.

One may view the intertext as subversive and ironic since Jesus is not saved from his enemies but rather dies at their hands. However, the immediate focus on the torn veil and the rising saints foreshadows Jesus' own resurrection. This foreshadowing thus forms a parallel fulfillment and vindication as in 2 Sam 22 because Jesus is ultimately saved just like the David of old. David is ultimately

¹⁸⁸ Carrier, *Earthquakes and Eschatology*, 163 n. 98.

¹⁸⁹ J. Clinton McCann Jr., “The Shape and Shaping of the Psalter: Psalms in their Literary Context,” in *The Oxford Handbook of the Psalms*, ed. William P. Brown (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 353.

rescued because YHWH delights in him (2 Sam 22:20) and because of his righteousness (2 Sam 22:21, 25). These aspects are then projected onto Jesus via the intertextual interplay and fit within Matthew's overall portrayal of Jesus (Matt 3:17; 17:5; 27:4, 19). However, in Matthean fashion, Jesus' vindication and rescue from death are much greater than David's. Something greater is indeed here. A further irony relates to how the crowd mocks Jesus and says YHWH should rescue him (Matt 27:43). This mocking becomes an ironic prophetic statement when Jesus is later indeed rescued by YHWH, who raises him from the dead.

Matthew's intertextual interplay with 2 Sam 22, especially if we allow for the targumic interpretive tradition, indicates the rescuing of the Davidic king is also the salvation of the whole people. Carrier's suggestion that the earthquake alludes to Ps 18 and YHWH coming for his chosen son thus takes on a deeper meaning. Israel was known as YHWH's son in the Jewish Scriptures (Exod 4:19; Hos 11:1), and Matthew has already alluded to that and applied it to Jesus (Matt 2:15). However, the targumic tradition of reading 1-2 Samuel in a prophetic and eschatological mode¹⁹⁰ where the fate of the messiah and the people are intertwined in a mutual vindication makes a fruitful dialogue partner and meshes well with the clearer eschatological intertexts between Matt 27:51-52 and Ezek 37 and Zech 14. By reading Jesus's cry of dereliction, the tearing of the veil, the darkness, the earthquakes, and the raising of the saints with 2 Sam 22, and particularly in the later targumic stream of interpretation, we see that the point is that both Jesus as the unique son, and Israel as the corporate son, will be raised and vindicated. Indeed, the intertextual interplay with 2 Sam 22 aids the reader see exactly how Jesus is saving his people from their sins, thereby helping elucidate the main plot of the story.

While it is safe to say Ezek 37:1-14, Zech 14:4-5, and Isa 24-27 are probably the strongest intertextual connections in Matt 27:51b-54,¹⁹¹ the section immediately before (Matt 27:41-51a) focuses on Jesus' seeming abandonment to his enemies by YHWH as the king of Israel, the son of God, the promised Davidide. It is the death of YHWH's chosen ruler which triggers the eschatological events that follow,¹⁹² and the potential intertextual link to 2 Sam 22 where YHWH rescues David might even be seen to work well with the saints rising out of their

190 van Staaldoune-Sulman, *The Targum of Samuel*, 716-17.

191 Timothy Wardle, "Resurrection and the Holy City: Matthew's Use of Isaiah in 27:51-53," *CBQ* 78 (2016): 666-81; Nolland, *Matthew*, 1217; France, *Matthew*, 1082; Müller, *Matthäusevangeliet*, 565.

192 Recent scholarship is fairly unanimous about the passage's eschatological focus; the inauguration of a new age. For references see Luz, *Matthew*, 3:562, 3:565; Gurtner, *The Torn Veil*, 150 n.55.

tombs after Jesus' own resurrection (Matt 27:52–53).¹⁹³ It is as if verses 52–53 inform the ideal reader that Jesus is in fact rescued just like David. The proposed intertextual link to 2 Sam 22 focuses the reader's attention on the rescue of David, which then, in tandem with verses 52–53, prime the reader for the resurrection of Jesus in Matt 28. This coheres with the stronger intertextual interplay between Matt 27:51–54 and Ezek 37:1–14 which likewise envisages an eschatological Davidic shepherd.¹⁹⁴ YHWH's anger against David's enemies in 2 Sam 22:8 further coheres well with the motif of divine judgment against Jesus' enemies, signified by the darkness and earthquake.¹⁹⁵

The potential intertextual link to 2 Sam 22 might play a supportive role in developing the plot of Matthew's Gospel, namely how Jesus, the son of David, saves his people from their sins. He does so by dying and being raised from the dead. In this sense, YHWH will rescue his chosen ruler by taking him back from the clutches of death, which then in Matthew becomes the ultimate enemy. YHWH does not save Jesus from his earthly enemies, those who scorn, whip, curse, torture, and kill him. No, YHWH allows those enemies to act and ultimately kill him. However, the ideal reader is primed to perceive that Jesus' death is not the end. Indeed, considering the earlier evocation of 2 Sam 23 in the transfiguration, the reader has been primed to understand Jesus' upcoming suffering and death in light of the illuminated and righteous Davidic king. In the Targum of Samuel, the illumination of the righteous is interpreted in an eschatological mode, and the dew/rain falling on the land symbolizes resurrection (2 Sam 23:4).¹⁹⁶ If now, the Davidic messiah and 2 Sam 22 are evoked, bring-

193 Some scholars also see a link to 1 Sam 28 in Matt 27:52–53. However, given the paucity of markers and lack of explanatory power, we shall not pursue it further. It makes better sense to view the text in light of 2 Sam 22. Aus suggests the raising of the prophet Samuel from the dead in 1 Sam 28:13–15 makes the open tombs and rising saints in Matthew 27:52–53 “more understandable.” See Aus, *Samuel, Saul, Jesus*, 120. Because Aus sees a connection we must acknowledge a potential intertext. However, we can only label the proposed intertext as implied with little to no explanatory power. The lack of lexical markers, explanatory power, and a history of interpretation means the proposed intertext fails to fulfill most of Hays' criteria.

194 Young S. Chae notes the crucifixion confirms Jesus as the eschatological shepherd who leads his people out of exile (Ezek 34:23–24; 37:24–25; Zech 14:1–9). For reference see Chae, *Jesus as the Eschatological Davidic Shepherd*, 328–40.

195 Gurtner, *The Torn Veil*, 146; Carrier, *Earthquakes and Eschatology*, 156–78; Luz, *Matthew*, 3:571.

196 van Staaldoune-Sulman, *The Targum of Samuel*, 715–17. For general favorable outlook on the afterlife and hope for resurrection at the time see Harry Sysling, *Tehiyat Ha-Metim: The Resurrection of the Dead in the Palestinian Targums of the Pentateuch and Parallel Traditions in Classical Rabbinic Literature*, TSAJ 57 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1996); Jon D. Levenson, *The Resurrection of the Dead: The Ultimate Victory of the God of Life* (New

ing about an earthquake and salvation for Jesus and his people (Matt 27:53), then the allusions to 2 Sam 22–23 and their targumic interpretations become persuasive. The crucifixion exhibits a great sense of polyvalence, like the transfiguration, and Matthew might allude to numerous scriptural texts.¹⁹⁷

8.11 Summary of 1–2 Samuel in Matthew 21–28

In Matthew 21:1–5 we encounter an ironic and implied intertextual interplay with 2 Sam 15:30 and 16:1–2 as it frames Jesus as a non-violent David from the Absalom revolt who, unlike David, enters Jerusalem to die rather than flee to live. This intertext becomes another example of a double allusion or window reference whereby the reader is invited to an evocation of 2 Sam 15:30 and 16:1–4 through the window of the explicit intertext, Zech 9:9. This intertextual connection is then followed by the last anchor point of this study, namely the almost explicit evocation of David's treatment of the lame and blind as he expels them from the House of the LORD (2 Sam 5:6–10). In contrast, Jesus instead welcomes them and heals them (Matt 21:14). In Matthew 26:30, the reader encounters a recurring implied intertextual connection to the Absalom revolt (1 Sam 15:30), which this time fits even better and works without irony. The Absalom revolt motif continues in the next intertext, which links Judas and Ahithophel due to their respective betrayals.

In Matthew 27:24–25 we encounter a vital intratextual connection that continues the motif of comparison/mercy within Matthew's gospel. Here, Pilate and Jesus are juxtaposed as Pilate's title as ἡγεμῶν (Matt 27:15) directs the reader's attention to that same title given to Jesus (Matt 2:6). The larger theme of the just and righteous ἡγεμῶν who is meant to shepherd the people thus emerges, and Pilate is portrayed as anything but just in his treatment of Jesus. The Pilate narrative is further riddled with ironies, including the handwashing and the implied intertextual interplay with 2 Sam 11:6 whereby Pilate serves as the anti-type of David by actually being culpable of Jesus' impending death. Jesus, on the other hand, is an innocent and righteous ruler, and one who is thus perfectly suited to partake in the larger expiation of sin, Yom Kippur drama, that is to follow on the cross whereby he can then save his people from their sins

Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2006), 33, 185; C.D. Elledge, *Resurrection of the Dead in Early Judaism 200 BCE–CE 200* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 66–78.

197 Carrier makes persuasive cases for seeing Ezek 37, Isa 24–27, Joel 4, Zech 14, and Amos 8:8–10 in the crucifixion. I merely wish to add 2 Sam 22/Ps 18, a notion carrier himself has called suggestive without pursuing. For reference see Carrier, *Earthquakes and Eschatology*, 156–178.

(Matt 1:21). The complexities of this passage are found and appreciated by the narrative and intertextual approach of this study, allowing for ironic intertexts to explicate the narrative. Nathan Johnson suggests an intertextual connection to 2 Sam 23:16b in Matt 27:34, which might further the notion of Jesus' cultic sacrifice and the Yom Kippur typology seen in the trial narrative.

A more tenuous implied intertext occurs in Matt 27:41–51, which might evoke the larger context of David's cry of distress and rescue in 2 Sam 22:1–20. The proposed intertext contains strong conceptual parallels and suggests David is ultimately rescued because YHWH delights in him (2 Sam 22:20) and because of his righteousness (2 Sam 21, 25). These aspects are then projected onto Jesus via the intertextual interplay and fit with Matthew's overall portrayal of Jesus (Matt 3:17; 17:5; 27:4, 19). The targumic tradition regarding 2 Sam 22 ties David's rescue with the rescue of the entire nation, which might help the reader make better sense of the raising of the saints (Matt 27:52–53). The potential intertextual links to 1–2 Samuel seem to occur alongside, or sometimes within, other intertextual connections to the Jewish Scriptures. This study does not suggest the links to 1–2 Samuel are primary but simply that they get a fair hearing because they contribute to a fuller understanding of Matthew's story.

Finally, the appendix briefly treats five weaker and more spurious potential intertextual links between 1–2 Samuel and Matthew 21–28. More importantly, though, is that we can now conclude how all these intertextual connections map unto Matthew, how they are classified, and how they shape Matthew's story and help portray Matthew's Jesus. To this we now turn.

Concluding Remarks about the Occurrences of 1–2 Samuel in Matthew and Their Narrative Implications

9.1 Classification of Intertextual Connections

First, the methodology of this project has classified numerous potential intertexts. The list below is preliminary, as I am sure there are more intertexts still to be found. Based on my methodology, the intertexts can be categorized as follows:¹

Explicit intertexts	Matt 2:6 2 Sam 5:2b Matt 12:3–4 1 Sam 21:1–9
Implied intertexts with significant or reasonable explanatory power	Matt 1:6 2 Sam 11:3 Matt 1:18–20 1 Sam 24:7 Matt 9:13 1 Sam 15:22 Matt 13:36–43 2 Sam 23:3–6 Matt 17:2 1 Sam 23:3–4 Matt 21:5 1 Sam 15:30 and 1 Sam 16:1–2 Matt 21:14 2 Sam 5:6–10 Matt 21:43 1 Sam 15:28 Matt 26:30 1 Sam 15:30 Matt 26:48–50 2 Sam 20:9 Matt 26:59 1 Sam 19:2 Matt 27:4 1 Sam 19:5 Matt 27:5 2 Sam 17:23 Matt 27:24 2 Sam 3:28 Matt 27:25 2 Sam 1:16 Matt 27:34 2 Sam 23:16b Matt 27:41–51 2 Sam 22:1–25

¹ The references are all to the Greek translation of 1–2 Samuel, except for 2 Sam 22:20 and 2 Sam 23:3–4 where Matthew might allude to the Hebrew.

Implied intertexts with little or no explanatory power

Matt 1:21|2 Sam 3:18
 Matt 2:15, 19–21|2 Sam 2:1–4
 Matt 2:16|2 Sam 13:23
 Matt 4:1–11|2 Sam 17:8–11, 45–50.
 Matt 5:43|2 Sam 19:6
 Matt 10:30|1 Sam 14:45
 Matt 10:30|2 Sam 14:11
 Matt 11:25–30|2 Sam 7:9–29
 Matt 12:14–15|1 Sam 27:1–2
 Matt 12:28|1 Sam 16:23
 Matt 14:26–28|1 Sam 28:8
 Matt 16:22|2 Sam 20:20
 Matt 22:6|2 Sam 10:4
 Matt 22:15|1 Sam 28:9
 Matt 22:16|1 Sam 16:7
 Matt 22:43|2 Sam 23:2
 Matt 26:31|2 Sam 24:1
 Matt 26:62–63|2 Sam 16:11b–12
 Matt 27:25|2 Sam 14:9
 Matt 27:46|2 Sam 19:5
 Matt 27:52–3|1 Sam 28:13–15

We have two explicit intertextual links to 1–2 Samuel and seventeen implied intertexts with significant or reasonable explanatory power. Finally, we have a further twenty-one intertexts with meager markers and little or insufficient explanatory power, all of which are listed in the appendix or briefly in the study or in a footnote. This gives a total of 40 intertextual connections between Matthew and 1–2 Samuel. It appears 1–2 Samuel make up a significant part of Matthew's intertextual matrix in terms of how Matthew presents Jesus as a new David who shepherds his people with justice, righteousness, and mercy. Certainly, Jesus and other characters recapitulate several events and themes from 1–2 Samuel. However, the degree to which 1–2 Samuel might constitute a narrative substructure, or hypertext, is an area for further research.² A benefit

² "Hypertextuality" is "when one text is integrally based on and transforms another text." For reference see, Gil Rosenberg, "Hypertextuality" in *Exploring Intertextuality: Diverse Strategies for New Testament Interpretation of Texts*, eds. B.J. Oropeza and Steve Moyise (Eugene, OR: Cascade Books, 2016), 17. Gérard Genette uses the examples of how Virgil's *Aenid* and Joyce's *Ulysses* use Homer's *Odyssey* as their narrative substructure, whereby the *Odyssey* becomes the hypotext upon which the others are constructed as hypertexts. For reference see Genette, *Palimpsests: Literature in the Second Degree*, 5–7.

of this study is the creation of a kind of compendium of 1–2 Samuel in Matthew, which means I have satisfied one of the lacunae in the secondary literature as mentioned in the introduction.³ Before reaching conclusions about how 1–2 Samuel shape Matthew's story, I want to conclude first what this study has determined regarding another lacuna in the secondary literature, namely the link between YHWH's chosen ruler and shepherding in 2 Sam 5:2 and its connection to Matt 2:6.

9.2 Revising the Shepherding רֹאשׁ/ἡγούμενος in 2 Sam 5:2 and Matt 2:6

I demonstrated in sections 4.2 through 4.5 that the shepherding רֹאשׁ/ἡγούμενος in 2 Sam 5:2b is non-militaristic. This is based not only on the text's own literary context, including grammar, syntax, and Masoretic accenting, but also due to the larger context of the shepherd-ruler metaphor in various ANE and Jewish Scriptural texts. The primary duty of the רֹאשׁ/ἡγούμενος in 1–2 Samuel is to reflect YHWH's just rule and ensure the welfare of the people.⁴ Being YHWH's רֹאשׁ/ἡγούμενος means one is chosen to mediate YHWH's rule and to trust YHWH for everything, including military victory. Finally, Matthew's own narrative employs this widespread shepherd-ruler metaphor (Matt 2:6) and frames Jesus as a non-violent Davidic shepherd-ruler. Matthew's Jesus does not overthrow the Roman Empire and restores Israel's territory to its former glory.

The fact that Jesus is portrayed as a non-militaristic ἡγούμενος who shepherds the people in righteousness and suffers and dies as such means some of the secondary literature that links Matthew's portrayal of Jesus as a Davidic shepherd-ruler to a militaristic Shepherd-King (רֹאשׁ/ἡγούμενος) must be revised.⁵ While some shepherd language can evoke militaristic language, 2 Sam 5:2b itself does not, nor is it evoked in such a manner in Matt 2:6. I do

3 At least concerning text-based or production-oriented intertextuality. The appendix is not exhaustive of all kinds of intertextual interplay. For example, one could employ a poststructuralist intertextual methodology, as Gary Phillips has done to Matt 2:13–23, to the above intertextual connections to draw out further contemporary and existential implications. For reference see Gary Phillips, "Poststructural Intertextuality," *Exploring Intertextuality: Diverse Strategies for New Testament Interpretation of Texts*, eds. B.J. Oropeza and Steve Moyise (Eugene, OR: Cascade Books, 2016), 116–26.

4 Murray, *Divine Prerogative and Royal Pretension*, 301.

5 Willitts, *Matthew's Messianic Shepherd-King*, 55–57, 110–11, 115; Baxter, *Israel's Only Shepherd*, 125–36, 150–54, 176–78. Several weaknesses have been noted in Willitts' and Baxter's approaches. First, an overreliance on Hunziker-Rodewald's understanding of the term רֹאשׁ while ignoring much secondary literature with contrary conclusions. Second, an overreliance on other corroborative shepherd texts like Psalms of Solomon while ignoring

not believe Matthew presents Jesus in a manner that allows for Willitts' assertion that Matt 2:6 and its evocation of 2 Sam 5:2b portrays a messianism akin to the Psalms of Solomon.⁶ Such a portrayal seems incongruent with Matthew's broader portrayal of Jesus' humble and non-violent behavior. My proposal for the shepherding $\tau\acute{\alpha}\nu\eta/\acute{\eta}\gamma\acute{o}\upsilon\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$ in Matthew thus heeds Huizenga's advice by focusing on the "precise function" of a proposed intertext within Matthew's "narrative logic."⁷ My proposal also aligns more closely with the broader studies of Konradt and Blumenthal that suggest the Davidic shepherd language does not invoke militaristic or nationalistic liberation motifs in Matthew.⁸ We hereby also see Chae's previous assertions vindicated, namely that justice is the most prominent aspect of the promised Davidic messiah and that it is the absence of shepherd language in the traditions that moves toward a more militaristic image.⁹

Rather than being militaristic, the shepherd-ruler metaphor of Matt 2:6 primarily evokes images of a ruler producing jurisprudence, equity, flourishing, wholeness, justice, etc., for his people. Matthew's Jesus as the true $\acute{\eta}\gamma\acute{o}\upsilon\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$ offers his people a beneficial yoke, does not impose his will on others through violence, and lays down his life for others. He does not accumulate wealth, wives, or weapons. Matthew thus seems to carry over the Deuteronomistic ideology of the idealized and just $\tau\acute{\alpha}\nu\eta/\acute{\eta}\gamma\acute{o}\upsilon\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$ of 1–2 Samuel. Now, we can conclude how 1–2 Samuel's intertextual interplay generally shapes Matthew's story.

9.3 How Intertextual Connections to 1–2 Samuel Shape Matthew's Narrative

Several of the intertexts surveyed in this study contain significant explanatory power and function to characterize Jesus as an ideal Davidic shepherd-ruler. The foundational narrative metaphor of a shepherd-ruler in Matt 2:6 is carried throughout the Gospel, helping the ideal reader see Jesus as greater than David, a true shepherd who leads in righteousness and ushers in a rule of mercy and justice. The key characteristics of a shepherd-ruler, both in the Jewish Scriptures and Matthew, are justice and mercy. These aspects find their

dissenting texts as well as the larger function of the shepherding $\tau\acute{\alpha}\nu\eta$ within the narrative logic of 1–2 Samuel.

6 Willitts, *Matthew's Messianic Shepherd-King*, 92, 111.

7 Huizenga, *New Isaac*, 212.

8 Konradt, *Studien zum Matthäusevangelium*, 155; Christian Blumenthal, *Basileia im Matthäusevangelium*, WUNT 416 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2019), 193–98.

9 Chae, *Jesus as the Eschatological Davidic Shepherd*, 156, 391.

inception in Matt 2:6 and come to fruition, especially in Matt 9–17, as covered in chapter 7 of this study. Matthew's emphasis on mercy above sacrifice (Matt 9:13) and Jesus' merciful interpretation of the law (Matt 12:3–7) both culminate in intertextual interplay with 1–2 Samuel whereby the righteous shine like the sun (Matt 13:43; 17:2).

Jesus' non-militaristic status as a Davidic ἡγούμενος from Matt 2:6 is further enforced in the triumphal entry, as well as in Jesus' command to sheathe the sword as he is betrayed (Matt 26:52), which occurs within an intertextual connection to the Absalom revolt. That Jesus, as a son of David, shepherds the people as a just ruler does not mitigate against the other title in the incipit: son of Abraham. In fact, in light of YHWH's charge to Abraham that he is to be a blessing to all nations by doing righteousness and justice (Gen 18:19), Matthew's initial focus on Jesus' justice and righteousness as a son of David and a son of Abraham finds a suitable culmination as he charges his disciples to go to all the nations and teach them his just commands (Matt 28:19–20). In light of the strong theme of justice/righteousness evoked by the Davidic shepherd-ruler metaphor (Matt 2:6), Jesus' two titles as son of David and son of Abraham cohere rather well. My narrative study understands Matt 2:6 to present a key facet of Jesus' earthly ministry, contrasted with the other earthly rulers and kingdoms.

9.3.1 *The Implications of 1–2 Samuel in Matthew and the Evocation of a Just and Merciful Shepherd-Ruler*

While there are numerous Davidic motifs in Matthew, i.e. from the Psalms, Zechariah, and Ezekiel, the emphasis on David from 1–2 Samuel focuses on a significant sub-plot in Matthew, the kingdom. The kingdom of the heavens, as envisioned by Matthew, is ruled by a completely just and merciful ruler. Jesus' use of power, which Matthew states he clearly has, is never malignant, self-serving, or harmful to others. As opposed to the other rulers in Matthew, such as the Herods, Romans, Pharisees, elders, and even those conjured up via intertextual links like King David and Saul, Jesus is always just and merciful, and his yoke is beneficial (Matt 11:28–30). Finally, Jesus never uses violence to secure his rule like the other rulers. Instead, he ironically exposes himself to violence in order to solidify the will of the Father and the reality of heavenly kingdom. By doing this, Matthew opposes substantial strains of "militant messianism" that existed at the time and thus "charts another way" to understand the concept of the Davidic messiah.¹⁰

10 Johnson, "The Passion According to David," 272.

Some of the intertextual links juxtapose Jesus' non-violence with Joab and Absalom. And unlike David, Jesus does not gain fame and a kingdom by killing a giant enemy. In fact, the absence of a firm intertextual link to the story of Goliath is a shocking silence.¹¹ Surely, if Jesus truly is the son of David, the promised Davidic ruler, then he ought to slay his own Goliath. But he does not. Rather, he is slain. This fact, combined with his meek, peaceful, anti-militaristic triumphant entry, subverts militaristic messianic hopes one might derive from 1 Sam 17 and Psalms of Solomon 17. Just because militaristic, nationalistic, and geopolitical components exist in other Jewish messianic texts mentioning a Davidic messiah, does not mean Matthew has to align with such notions.¹² Several cases of Davidic juxtapositions such as the transfiguration, triumphal entry, and crucifixion, clearly portray Jesus as a non-militaristic ruler, in stark contrast to David who is known as a warrior. Jesus is not a warrior. He does not kill his opponents. His rule is different. In fact, Jesus' rule is in a sense more Deuteronomistic in that Jesus, much more than David, entrusts himself fully to YHWH. He relies not on his own power. Finally, as demonstrated by Nathan Johnson, Matthew's Jesus is even a suffering and dying Davidic messiah.¹³

The fact that Matthew presents a more Deuteronomistic king is hardly surprising given Brandon Crowe's work. Crowe has demonstrated how prevalent Deuteronomy is in Matthew. He shows how Deuteronomy has shaped Matthew's Christology, exemplified in Jesus's obedient sonship in the temptation in the wilderness (Matt 4:1–11) in contrast with the disobedience of Israel (Deut 6–8).¹⁴ Matthew 11:16–19 provides another instance of Matthean irony where Jesus is called a glutton and drunkard, which is likely an ironic reference to Deut 21:18–21.¹⁵ Overall, Jesus is portrayed as the obedient son in light of Deuteronomy's call for Israel's compliance.¹⁶

11 See the appendix for a treatment of a potential intertextual link to the story of David and Goliath.

12 Contra Willitts who sees Matthew aligning with the militaristic, nationalistic, and geographical overtones of David as a shepherd-king based on his interpretation of that term in light of the Jewish Scriptures, i.e. 2 Sam 5:2, and Second Temple texts like Psalms of Solomon. See Willitts, *Matthew's Messianic Shepherd-King*, 31, 56, 91–92, 110–11, 232.

13 Johnson explores the use of the Psalms of Lament in Jesus' passion narrative whereby Jesus is still the Davidic messiah according to the Scriptures. However, Jesus is not the militaristic type often found in various other Jewish writings. For reference see Johnson, *The Suffering Son of David*, 147–205.

14 Brandon D. Crowe, *The Obedient Son: Deuteronomy and Christology in the Gospel of Matthew*, BZNW 188 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2012), 165–66.

15 Ibid., 176.

16 Ibid., 225–26.

I have demonstrated in this study that 1–2 Samuel is thoroughly Deuteronomistic, and I thus see my own emphasis on 1–2 Samuel in Matthew as a natural extension of Crowe's work. Crowe himself suggests Matthew applies the notion of "Deuteronomic sonship messianically" and even that other texts have likely influenced Matthew.¹⁷ Jesus is indeed the obedient son (Israel) in Matthew, and my study adds to Crowe's observations that Jesus is also the perfectly obedient son of David. In my mind, this does not make Matthew antimonarchical, as Malbon suggests about Mark.¹⁸ Instead, Matthew's Jesus represents an ideal Deuteronomistic king where Jesus is then both the ideal inaugurator and mediator of the heavenly realm while also sharing in the divine role of ruling the kingdom.¹⁹

Kingship and kingdom are thus not concepts that are abolished in Matthew. On the contrary, they are vital concepts in Matthew's narrative world and are redeemed by the perfect son of David, who heralds the kingdom of the heavens. Jesus and the kingdom of heaven are set over against past and present kings and kingdoms within Matthew's narrative, and the reader does not doubt Jesus' status and superiority. The irony, of course, is that David was successful via famous victories and conquests. The kingdom was protected and flourished partly because David killed his "ten thousands" (1 Sam 18:7). However, Jesus kills no one. The heavenly kingdom comes through Jesus' own suffering and death.²⁰

Irony, subversive intertexts, and reversing and recapitulating Davidic acts are thus significant elements in Matthew's portrayal of Jesus. The intertextual links even subvert stories from 1–2 Samuel, thereby casting a far-from-perfect light on David.²¹ One only has to think of the connection to the Bathsheba incident in Matt 1:6 and Jesus' healing of the lame and blind in the temple (Matt 21:14). This is part of *how* Matthew narrates. This is part of *how* the story

17 Crowe, *The Obedient Son*, 224.

18 Malbon, *Mark's Jesus*, 121. An argument can be made that Mark is not antimonarchical but rather reveals Jesus "as a king not in the way of the world; Jesus is king in his suffering and crucifixion." For reference see Robert Ewusie Moses, *Jesus and Materialism in the Gospel of Mark: Traveling Light on the Way* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books/Fortress Academic, 2022), 195.

19 Blumenthal, *Basileia im Matthäusevangelium*, 238–40.

20 For the heavenly nature of Jesus, his rule, and the kingdom he inaugurates see Pennington, *Heaven and Earth in the Gospel of Matthew*, 87, 94, 140, 155, 196, 210, 264, 291, 311, 319, 323–30.

21 This is akin to what J.R. Daniel Kirk labels "Narrative Transformation." For reference see J.R. Daniel Kirk, "Narrative Transformation," in *Exploring Intertextuality: Diverse Strategies for New Testament Interpretation of Texts*, eds. B.J. Oropeza and Steve Moyise (Eugene, OR: Cascade Books, 2016), 165–75.

means to tell the reader about Jesus.²² So, rather than “re-establish the Davidic Empire,”²³ it seems to me that Jesus re-figures it substantially, at least during his earthly ministry. YHWH’s heavenly kingdom coming on earth and being spear-headed by Jesus is not about territorial expansion and other earthly empirical mechanisms. Rather, the heavenly kingdom is rooted in a loving mercy and justice and thus re-figures the nature of what most people associate with a king, his kingdom, and his power.²⁴

The intertextual links to 1–2 Samuel often occur within a larger intertextual matrix where Matthew alludes to several passages of the Jewish Scriptures and creatively weaves them together as he rewrites his foundational source, Mark. The casting of Jesus as an “ideal Davidide” is already present in Mark via allusions to Davidic Psalms,²⁵ Ezek 34, Psalms of lament,²⁶ and Zechariah. Matthew seems to shape this material into a smoother, fuller, and more advanced motif with his intertextual links to 1–2 Samuel. This creative scribal activity is perhaps a unique example of how the author of the Gospel himself embodies the disciplined scribe who brings out treasures old and new (Matt 13:52).

Matthew’s narrative thus incorporates intertexts from the Jewish Scriptures and re-interprets or re-appropriates them vis-à-vis Jesus and the kingdom of the heavens.²⁷ Matthew reworks both the former and latter prophets into a new narrative setting within his Gospel. This kind of scriptural rewriting might be in line with Mark’s, where one finds “prophecy narrated rather than prophecy repeated.”²⁸ Indeed, Matthew’s intertextual interplay with the Jewish Scriptures is far deeper and much more nuanced than simply proof-texting via his formula quotations. Matthew, like Mark, weaves the narratives of the Jewish Scriptures into his story,²⁹ both the former and latter prophets, like Zechariah, which complements 1–2 Samuel since the overarching point in Matthew’s application of these texts is a focus on the Davidic ruler as a divinely appointed shepherd.³⁰ This intertextual interplay’s depth and richness truly

22 Carter, *Matthew and Empire*, 176–78.

23 Willitts, *Matthew’s Messianic Shepherd-King*, 115.

24 Pennington, *Heaven and Earth in the Gospel of Matthew*, 326.

25 Max Botner, *Jesus Christ as the Son of David in the Gospel of Mark*, SNTSMS 174 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 140–46, 175–82.

26 Stephen P. Ahearne-Kroll, *The Psalms of Lament in Mark’s Passion: Jesus’ Davidic Suffering*, SNTSMS 142 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 168–214.

27 I.e. the book of Daniel. See Pennington, *Heaven and Earth in the Gospel of Matthew*, 326.

28 Paul Sloan, *Mark 13 and the Return of the Shepherd: The Narrative Logic of Zechariah in Mark*, LNTS 604 (London: T&T Clark, 2019), 86.

29 Ibid., 76, 86.

30 Ham, *The Coming King*, 125–26.

emerge when we consider the instances of double allusions or window references highlighted in this study, namely how Hos 6:6, Zech 9:9, and Pss 18/22 might provide additional intertextual layering by offering windows into episodes from 1–2 Samuel. This focus on window references proffers new vistas within the study of the use of the Old Testament in the New Testament.

Having investigated as many of the potential intertexts between 1–2 Samuel and Matthew as I could find, the evidence suggests a substantial presence of 1–2 Samuel throughout the Gospel. These intertextual links to 1–2 Samuel focus both on the person of Jesus and highlight motifs such as proper shepherding (rule), especially ruling in mercy and justice. Matthew's use of 1–2 Samuel is thus a new figuration, a re-interpretation, and rewriting. However, I do not intend to argue that 1–2 Samuel constitute Matthew's primary intertextual interlocutor, but we must accept that intertextual links to 1–2 Samuel occur somewhat frequently and constitute a meaningful narrative substructure.

9.3.2 *Implications and Conclusions about the Main Plot and Kingdom Sub-Plot*

The focus on righteousness, derived from several motifs in the Jewish Scriptures, including the idealized righteousness of the Davidic ἡγούμενος, means Jesus' death, the spilling of his innocent and righteous blood (Matt 27:4), functions as a cultic sacrifice and establishes the new temple (presence of YHWH) which saves his people from their sins (Matt 26:28).³¹ This deals with the main plot in the story as the new and greater son of David, Jesus, ensures salvation for his people (Matt 1:21). The sacrificial death of Jesus as a new Isaac,³² and as the king of the Jews (Matt 27:37), thus becomes the culmination of Jesus' titles in the incipit (υἱοῦ Δαυὶδ υἱοῦ Ἀβραάμ) and makes a fitting inclusio and narrative conclusion.

Jesus' righteousness is a vital component regarding his atoning death. This becomes clear when we view the cry from the cross in light of 2 Sam 22:1–25 where David was rescued from death because YHWH was pleased with him and his righteousness (2 Sam 22:20–21, 25). Jesus' righteousness (Matt 3:17; 17:5; 27:4, 19) saves him not from death but through death. Again, the point is made that Jesus is truly greater than David. But just as the Targum of 2 Sam 22 sees the rescue of David as pertaining to the whole people, so Matt 27:52 indicates that not only Jesus, but his people as well, are rescued. The point is that Jesus dies and is then saved through death so that his people may be saved

31 Huizenga, *New Isaac*, 277–78; Moscicke, *A New Day of Atonement*, 189–90.

32 Huizenga, *New Isaac*, 291.

and empowered to act with mercy, justice, and righteousness in the heavenly kingdom now at hand (one of the sub-plots). This coheres with larger Davidic prophetic elements from texts like Ezekiel 37:24–28.³³

The rescuing of the whole people by a just Davidide who rules in righteousness and mercy and whose kingdom imposes a beneficial yoke might be seen to cohere with Piotrowski's emphasis on Matthew's "end of exile" motif.³⁴ Indeed, Matthew's righteous Jesus also fits into a sacrificial Yom Kippur typology,³⁵ and his righteousness does seem to be revealed as a supernatural eschatological act of ὙΗΩΗ (Matt 17:1–3), thereby agreeing with Deines that righteousness in Matthew is sometimes greater than merely just conduct.³⁶ This kind of righteousness is necessary in order for Jesus to save his people from their sins (Matt 1:21) by being a ransom (Matt 20:28) that allows for the release of sin (Matt 26:28). However, allowing for the spectrum of righteousness that Deines promotes, I also believe Matthew narrates Jesus' righteousness in terms of proper conduct and often juxtaposes it to David in 1–2 Samuel.

Regarding the kingdom sub-plot in Matthew, the intertextual links to 1–2 Samuel are likewise helpful for the reader. If, as N.T. Wright says, "Jesus was not depoliticizing the kingdom. He was redefining power and politics themselves," the intertextual connections to 1–2 Samuel in subversive and ironic ways make a lot of sense.³⁷ Indeed, 1–2 Samuel are primarily concerned with the proper use of power within political structures.³⁸ Jesus' righteousness and proper use of power in Matthew, vis-à-vis his intertextual counterparts in 1–2 Samuel, help paint the picture of this redefinition centered around mercy, humility, gentleness, and justice. These aspects constitute the desired higher righteousness (Matt 5:20). As Warren Carter notes, Caesar was viewed as divinely chosen to rule, and Jesus is likewise portrayed as such in Matthew.³⁹ Jesus' status as a shepherding ἡγμεών (Matt 2:6) is meant to conflict with Roman imperial ideology in Matthew. This is especially evident in Matthew's portrayal of Jesus' trial before Pilate, the ἡγμεών.⁴⁰

If the intertexts to 1–2 Samuel point to political leadership, then we must look at how Jesus actually treats his subjects in the story. We must look at how

33 Gurtner, *The Torn Veil*, 197; Chae, *Jesus as the Eschatological Davidic Shepherd*, 32–76.

34 Piotrowski, *Matthew's New David*, 12, 36–37.

35 Moscicke, *A New Day of Atonement*, 180.

36 Deines, *Die Gerechtigkeit der Tora*, 126, 158, 642.

37 N.T. Wright, "Hope Deferred? Against the Dogma of Delay," *EC* 9 (2018): 72.

38 Halbertal and Holmes, *Power in the Biblical Book of Samuel*, 1–16; Westbrook, *David Narrative*, 39.

39 Carter, *Matthew and Empire*, 29.

40 *Ibid.*, 57.

Jesus leads.⁴¹ Jesus is compassionate towards people. He heals and feeds them, offering them a beneficial yoke and light burden. He lays down his life for them and never uses violence. He sups with even his lowest subjects (sinners). His servant attitude and humility are essential and yet uncharacteristic traits among ancient leaders.⁴² In addition, it seems Matthew's Jesus is characterized by mercy.⁴³ His actions towards people and his interpretation of the law are all rooted in a hermeneutic of mercy. Since Jesus is the model ruler, it follows that his followers should model him. In following Hays, I seek to further his approach and answer one of Wright's concerns, namely that Hays' most recent work on the Gospels does not move beyond the person of Jesus.⁴⁴ I suggest Hays' method, when applied to Matthew vis-à-vis 1–2 Samuel, leads to much more than a portrayal of Jesus because it also elucidates the kind of kingdom Jesus heralds, a kingdom of justice, righteousness, and mercy. The point is that the intertextual interplay with 1–2 Samuel goes beyond the person of Jesus and points to issues of power, leadership, justice, and mercy.

It is worth pointing out that the kind of leadership modeled by the Matthean Jesus alludes to the royal ideal of Deut 17. Indeed, Jesus is greater than Solomon, who obviously becomes the antithesis of the royal requirements of Deut 17:16–17 whereas Jesus fulfills them. Jesus knows the Torah, has no army of chariots to enforce his rule, and does not accumulate any wives, nor is he known for his earthly riches. In fact, Matthew's Jesus is much more concerned with heavenly riches that match the heavenly kingdom he is pronouncing. Matthew's Jesus exemplifies a Deuteronomistic ideal of kingship. He is thus not antimonarchical but presents a narrative wherein Jesus redeems biblical kingship by avoiding the pitfalls that troubled his forefathers, David and Solomon.

This kind of kingship modeled by Matthew's Jesus has further implications for the construction of a theology of leadership. Students and others interested in a biblical theology of shepherding and leadership will benefit from understanding Matthew's Jesus as a just, merciful, obedient, and servant shepherd-ruler who perfectly fulfills the requirements of the king in Deut 17. A king who brings forth and represents something greater than David and Solomon could muster. Considering the shortcomings of people in leadership to this day, it certainly does not hurt to have a more robust understanding of how Matthew presents Jesus as the perfect leader who embodies "the royal

41 Daniel Hjort, "Jesus the True Leader: The Biographical Portrait of Jesus as Leader in the Gospel of Matthew" (PhD diss., Lund University, 2018).

42 Ibid., 298–302.

43 Hays, "Reconfigured Torah," 165–90.

44 N.T. Wright, "Pictures, Stories, and the Cross: Where Do the Echoes Lead?" *JTI* 11 (2017): 49, 60.

ethic of compassion.”⁴⁵ Matthew’s shepherd metaphor bolsters Laniak’s claim that “Shepherd leadership requires humility before God and responsiveness to God’s people. It resists pretense, posturing and privilege.”⁴⁶ The portrayal of Jesus as a Davidic shepherd-ruler seems to have obvious implications for religious leaders, but the secular world could also learn from this kind of just and selfless leadership. In addition, Jesus’ leadership is meant to be emulated by his disciples. Jesus has shown the way of justice, and the narrative logic indicates that his followers must now become doers of justice.

While 1–2 Samuel surely do not paint a perfect picture of the early Israelite monarchy, nor of David as king, this critical view of the early monarchy and David is heightened if we read Jesus’ rule backward into 1–2 Samuel. Matthew’s ideal reader thus realizes David’s kingship, the pinnacle of the Israelite monarchy in the Deuteronomistic history, was not like Jesus’ rule. It was not the kingdom of the heavens. Intertextual links to the David of 1–2 Samuel in Matthew sometimes portray his rule as far from ideal, and Jesus’ rule, by contrast, far superior. Matthew’s Gospel does not simply say Jesus is greater, it carefully narrates how this is so. Reading Matthew with 1–2 Samuel thus both informs the reader about Jesus’ rule and his identity and perhaps dampens the quality of David’s past rule. Such an intertextual reading is thus dialogical in the sense that it informs the reader of both texts as they illuminate each other. The Davidic shepherd imagery evoked in Matthew likely means the ideal reader must now understand David in a new light.⁴⁷

While Matthew is critical of rulers and earthly kingdoms, I do not think Matthew is “antimonarchical”⁴⁸ in his use and reworking of his Markan source. Rather, it appears Matthew redefines kingship. In the gospel story, Jesus is still king but of a different ilk than other powerbrokers. Elizabeth Struthers Malbon argues, “other terms – not ‘king’ – are found to characterize this leadership that is beneficial toward others.”⁴⁹ This statement is surprisingly true for Matthew, who highlights Jesus as a ἡγούμενος who shepherds the people (Matt 2:6) with righteousness and mercy, not primarily as “king.” And if Mark’s Jesus “challenges the conventional view of kingship,”⁵⁰ Matthew certainly elaborates on

45 Laniak, *Shepherds after My Own Heart*, 194.

46 Ibid., 249.

47 For this kind of dialogical intertextuality see Steve Moyise, “Intertextuality and the Study of the Old Testament in the New Testament,” in *The Old Testament in the New Testament: Studies in Honour of J.L. North*, ed. Steve Moyise, JSNTSup 189 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000), 25–32.

48 Malbon, *Mark’s Jesus*, 121.

49 Ibid., 120.

50 Ibid., 120.

this theme. Matthew is clearly critical of monarchs and rulers in general, yet he does not appear to be antimonarchical since his narrative redeems the Davidic monarchy via Jesus, who acts as a true Davidic shepherd of YHWH's people. Jesus lives out the Deuteronomistic ideal of a king and redeems and fulfills the Davidic kingship by succeeding where David and his sons failed. Where David failed to produce justice and righteousness, Jesus has now succeeded as the true king.

We must remember that *βασις/ἡγούμενος* was a favorite appellation of the Israelite king,⁵¹ and the *ἡγούμενος* in 1–2 Samuel was still king in a qualified sense, namely as YHWH's chosen ruler meant to mediate his rule over his people. This is what Matthew's Jesus does. Matthew's genealogy still highlights Jesus as a Davidic ruler, and Jesus still has *all* authority (Matt 28:18). But he uses his authority and power as YHWH's chosen ruler in ways that redefines traditional kingship. In all his authority and power, he chooses death, trusting that YHWH will raise him from the dead in order to save his people for their sins (Matt 1:21). Matthew's Jesus succeeds in inaugurating the presence of the heavenly kingdom of righteousness, mercy, and peace on earth.⁵²

While a detailed analysis is beyond the scope of this study, I must say a few words about this work vis-à-vis political theology because of Matthew's emphasis on King David, political leadership, as well as Matthew's pernicious reception history, which shows numerous interpreters espousing antisemitic and supersessionist readings.⁵³ Political theology and Matthean studies often revolve around supersessionism and whether the land promise to Israel is still valid. First, we should note that Matthew does not abrogate the land promises of the Jewish Scriptures.⁵⁴ Furthermore, my study shows no replacement of Israel with a Gentile "church." I have shown how some corrupt and unjust Jewish leaders are condemned and replaced by other just Jewish leaders. Although Matthew does critique Jewish leadership, he also critiques the behaviors of Gentiles (Matt 6:7, 32), and he similarly aims at Rome.

One can, of course, argue for a hope of territorial restoration in Matthew like Willitts.⁵⁵ I have no problem agreeing with Willitts that it is an implied

51 Eichrodt, *Old Testament Theology*, 1:444.

52 Blumenthal, *Basileia im Matthäusevangelium*, 281–91.

53 John Nolland, "The Gospel of Matthew and Anti-Semitism," in *Built on the Rock: Studies in the Gospel of Matthew*, eds. By Daniel M. Gurtner and John Nolland (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2008), 154–169; Terence L. Donaldson, "Supersessionism and Early Christian Self-Definition," *JJMJS*, no. 3 (2016): esp. 19–20, 24–25.

54 Amy-Jill Levine, "Supersessionism: Admit and Address Rather than Debate or Deny," *Religions* 13, no. 2 (2022): 155, doi.org/10.3390/rel13020155.

55 Willitts, *Matthew's Messianic Shepherd-King*, 157–73.

and embedded part of some of the Jewish messianic hopes of the time.⁵⁶ However, Matthew's use of the Davidic shepherd metaphor and allusions to David in 1–2 Samuel hardly evoke the glory days of David's territorial rule and military triumphs. Rather than enforce a notion of a conquering and territory-expanding mighty king, Matthew's use of 1–2 Samuel inverts such expectations since Jesus does not conquer the Romans or rule a new glorious territorial Israel. Instead, he is executed by the Romans who continue to rule the land.⁵⁷ The use of 1–2 Samuel in Matthew points not to a militant and territory expanding messiah but to a righteous, suffering, son of David.

The primary way Matthew evokes 1–2 Samuel points to *how* Jesus shepherds justly, mercifully, and often in contradistinction to David. The evocations also show *how* Jesus suffers and dies as the righteous Davidic messiah. The way Matthew evokes images of David from 1–2 Samuel does not, first and foremost, guide the reader to matters of territorial restoration. That Matthew never rules out a future territorial restoration is, of course, a different matter. However, Matthew explicitly mentions mercy and justice in relation to Jesus' earthly ministry as he shepherds the people as the son of David. Jesus actively heals and dispenses justice as the son of David but is never actively a territory-expanding shepherd-warrior-king during his earthly ministry. While we can assume a hope of future territorial restoration (Matt 5:5), part of the problem is that it stays beneath the surface.⁵⁸ While the future hope for Israel's territorial restoration remains, Matthew's narrative around Jesus' earthly ministry primarily focuses elsewhere. I am suggesting that Matthew primarily evokes the Davidic shepherd metaphor from 2 Sam 5:2 to illuminate aspects of Jesus' earthly

56 Willitts, *Matthew's Messianic Shepherd-King*, 167.

57 For a description of how Matthew constructs his own suffering Davidic messiah that does not fit the two core streams of Davidic Messianism in the Second Temple period that focus on a violent Davidic messiah or a Davidic messiah who is saved by YHWH doing violence see Nathan Johnson's recent monograph. For reference see Johnson, *The Suffering Son of David*, 62–78.

58 Willitts himself notes that the Gospel of Matthew is “not about the territorial restoration of the land of Israel,” and that to see his theology of land we must “read between the lines, so to speak.” However, the fact that Willitts later has to clarify this in writing seems indicative of some imprecise formulations, or perhaps overstatements, in his earlier works. For reference see Joel Willitts, “Zionism in the Gospel of Matthew: Do the People of Israel and the Land of Israel Persist as Abiding Concerns in the Gospel of Matthew,” in *New Christian Zionism: Fresh Perspectives on Israel and the Land*, ed. Gerald R. McDermott (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2016), 109–10.

ministry as the son of David. The 1–2 Samuel intertexts underline Jesus as the rightful ruler of the Jews, and the land, because of his superior righteousness.⁵⁹

Additionally, I have demonstrated that the shepherd metaphor coupled with the word ποιμήν/ἡγούμενος leads the reader first to matters of justice and welfare before militaristic impulses and future eschatological territorial restoration. As I have shown, the majority of shepherd-ruler metaphors in the Jewish Scriptures, as well as other non-scriptural texts, primarily relate to the obligation of the shepherd to procure welfare and justice for the populace. While it is true that some texts use the shepherd-ruler metaphor aggressively, most do not. The question then becomes how Matthew employs this metaphor. Does he utilize it with an eye to welfare and justice like most other ancient texts, or does he follow a more militaristic impulse as found in the Psalms of Solomon? Considering the overarching narrative of 1–2 Samuel is about *how* the monarch acts, justly or unjustly, I believe that the same focus is primarily in view when Matthew evokes the shepherd metaphor from 2 Sam 5:2 and applies it to Jesus' earthly ministry. A secondary focus of these Davidic evocations could then be on future territorial restoration. But Willitts' thesis faces problems when Matthew clearly portrays Jesus not as a militaristic Davidic messiah like in the Psalms of Solomon, but rather a suffering and dying messiah.

In my view, Matthew focuses on who Israel's legitimate ruler is and *how* he is supposed to rule. Jesus is the legitimate Davidic messiah of the land promised to Abraham partly because of his righteousness and genealogical descent, which harkens back to the ideal of David and his sons (2 Sam 8:15). The immediate question for Matthew is not so much about Jesus' future reconstitution of David's former empire, rather it is about how Jesus lives an exemplary royal life of law observance, righteousness, and mercy. This fits with a general tendency within Second Temple Judaism where David is often seen as "an idealized moral exemplar, prophet, and psalmist."⁶⁰ One advantage of such a reading is that a roughly contemporary text with similar theological outlooks, 2 Baruch,⁶¹ likewise envisions proper kingship primarily as a matter of righteousness and

59 We have already established the vital importance of righteousness in Matthew. Markus Bockmuehl highlights this as well, including how rare it is for some to be called righteous or just in the Scriptures. Bockmuehl notes that amongst the few are King David, Joseph the husband of Mary, and Jesus. For reference see Markus Bockmuehl, "Jesus 'the Just,'" *JSTJ* 46 (2023): 19–22, 27–33. I have argued that these characters are all linked together in Matthew via their righteousness, or lack thereof.

60 Eva Mroczek, "David," *ESTJ* 2:189.

61 Harrington, *Matthew*, 10–14; Saldarini, *Matthew's Christian-Jewish Community*, 4–5.

law observance (2 Baruch 61:1–8; 66:1–8).⁶² In fact, it seems like special pleading for Willitts to focus on the more militant messianism and land motif in Psalms of Solomon and ignore 2 Baruch to promote his thesis.⁶³ The Psalms of Solomon retain a hope for territorial restoration, but Willitts does not demonstrate why we must read Matthew with the Psalms of Solomon rather than 2 Baruch which is much less optimistic about the restoration of the land.⁶⁴

Willitts makes much of the Davidic eschatological motif of land restoration. While these undercurrents are plausible, I believe a better place to look for potential territorial implications would be in the son of Abraham motif. After all, the land promise was given to Abraham and inherited by his offspring rather than taken by David. A segment of text that should take precedence over Matt 2:6 is thus Matt 5:5, which specifically notes that the meek shall inherit the land.⁶⁵ My work is thus not supersessionist, nor is it denying the validity of

62 Liv Ingeborg Lied, *The Other Lands of Israel: Imaginations of the Land in 2 Baruch*, JSJSup 129 (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 69–77, 83–86.

63 Looking at Willitts' index, he refers to 2 Bar. twice and Pss. Sol. 109 times. For reference see Willitts, *Matthew's Messianic Shepherd-King*, 261–62.

64 Scholarship often mentions 2 Baruch as a possible contemporary of Matthew with significant thematic parallels, and it certainly seems like special pleading for Willitts to focus so singlehandedly on Matthew's potential agreement with Psalm of Solomon's messianic restoration motif and then practically ignore a text like 2 Baruch. The notion of land in 2 Baruch is complicated. A.F.J. Klijn says it, "rejected the idea of a messianic kingdom on earth." For reference, see, *OTP* 1:619. Others opine that 2 Baruch pushes the concept of land as it seems to look forward to a new kind of existence in "another, heavenly world." For reference, see Lied, *The Other Lands of Israel*, 314. Still others see 2 Baruch as offering no hope of a restored temple and rebuilt Jerusalem and that one should look to the eternal heavenly Jerusalem. For reference, see Nir, *Redemption in the Syriac Apocalypse of Baruch*, 199. The temple and the land "are no longer in sight." For reference see Mark Whitters, *The Epistle of Second Baruch: A Study in Form and Message*, JSPSup 42 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2003), 64. In general, I agree with W.D. Davies that Second Temple texts render "no one doctrine of the land, clearly defined and normative, but, as is usual in Judaism, a multiplicity of ideas and expectations variously and unsystematically entertained." For reference, see W.D. Davies, *The Gospel and the Land: Early Christianity and Jewish Territorial Doctrine* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1974), 157. Overall, Davies leaves room for Willitts' interpretation and focus on land although he himself does not read Matthew in that way. The point is that the data is clearly difficult to interpret. While the Psalms of Solomon is an important text, we cannot use that alone, or even elevate it above other texts without sufficient reason, when trying to investigate Matthew's land motif.

65 Runesson, *Divine Wrath*, 181–85, 418–425. Anders Runesson, "Giving Birth to Jesus in the Late First Century: Matthew as Midwife in the Context of Colonisation," in *Infancy Gospels: Stories and Identities*, eds. Claire Clivaz, Andreas Dettwiler, Luc Devillers and Enrico Norelli with Benjamin Bertho, WUNT 281 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011), 309–15, 324–25. Given how γῆ relates to the land elsewhere in Matthew when not used in relation

the land promise given to the Jewish people in their Scriptures. But I disagree with Willitts' interpretation of 2 Sam 5:2 and his imprecise explanation of how Matthew uses the shepherd metaphor vis-à-vis Jesus' earthly ministry. I am sympathetic to Willitts' focus on the land promise in Matthew, yet I disagree with how he gets there via Matt 2:6.

Furthermore, Matthew's deliberate preference for the expression kingdom of the heavens rather than the kingdom of God or kingdom of Israel, seemingly draws attention away from earthly territory.⁶⁶ At the least, it leaves open the possibility that Matthew may be thinking creatively about what land or territory means in his story, just like other Jewish writers did after 70 CE.⁶⁷ I do

to the heavens (2:6, 19, 21; 4:15; 9:26), I think it is completely justified to understand γῆ in Matt 5:5 as pertaining to the land of Israel. Several scholars note Matthew's narrower use of γῆ and its potential apocalyptic use although favoring a universal understanding. For reference see Gnlika, *Matthäusevangelium*, 1123; Müller, *Matthäusevangeliet*, 162. Craig Evans sees the land reference as a "national renewal, which includes, in this instance, regaining the land itself." For references see Evans, *Matthew*, 106. The link to territorial restoration is all the more pertinent given Matt 5:5's link to Psalm 37:11 where the prima facie context is on the land of Israel. For reference see Johannes Bremer, "'Land' as a Topic in the Book of Psalms?" *OTE* 32 (2019): 705–8. Even if one believes that the traditional view of land has been transposed into a cosmic or universal sense the particular dimension of the land in Matt 5:5 is still a viable option. For a traditional overview of the cosmic land view see Luz, *Matthew*, 1194–95.

66 An example of this confusing language can be seen when Willitts says that Jesus as the son of David sends "emissaries to enliven hope through the proclamation of the coming of the restored kingdom of Israel bringing relief from oppression by healing disease and sickness." For reference see Joel Willitts, "Matthew's Messianic Shepherd-King: 'In Search of the Lost Sheep of the House of Israel,'" *HvTst* 63 (2007): 373. Jesus says the disciples should go proclaim the message that the "kingdom of heaven" is near (Matt 10:7), not the message about the future coming of the "restored kingdom of Israel," as Willitts puts it. This is a significant detail, and one should not put words into the mouth of Matthew's Jesus here or make equivocations between terms like kingdom of God and kingdom of heaven. Or even add the term kingdom of Israel which does not occur in Matthew. For the nuances between kingdom of heaven and kingdom of God see Pennington, *Heaven and Earth in the Gospel of Matthew*, 299–310. I am sympathetic to Willitts' argument, but he seems to muddy the waters with imprecise language. Another part of the problem might be that Willitts connects the Davidic shepherd metaphor in Matt 2:6 to his 'lost sheep' pericopae in Matt 9:36, 10:6 which he argues must be understood "against the backdrop of the political-national framework of the Messianic Shepherd-King expectation with its attending expectations for territorial restoration." For reference see Willitts, "Lost Sheep of the House of Israel," 367. Matthew 2:6, and many of the 1–2 Samuel intertexts in Matthew as well as Jesus' healings as the son of David, can suitably be read without attending expectations of territorial restoration.

67 Lied, *The Other Lands of Israel*, 313–318. Willitts prefers to use the term kingdom of God which he views as basically synonymous with kingdom of heaven. As previously

not think the heavenly language excludes a future earthly restoration, but I do think Matthew's focus lies elsewhere.⁶⁸

Any given text's focus on political leadership in the Scriptures of Israel and their territorial corollaries easily bleeds into current political debates.⁶⁹ Overall, the reception history of Matthew indicates that one should be cautious when connecting exegesis of the biblical text with politics. While my work does not engage in specific questions about political theology vis-a-vis the land of Israel, it does perhaps caution readers not to rely too heavily on certain passages in Matthew when making modern political claims. My study does provide a biblical basis for what 1–2 Samuel and Matthew consider proper and just leadership in the land, which would have political implications for some. However, it is beyond the scope of the present study to tease out its potential modern political consequences, even though I recognize some readers might be interested in thinking about such outcomes.

Finally, we can conclude the present study stands on the shoulders of several critical studies about David and shepherding in the Gospel of Matthew. However, this study makes an original contribution by re-framing the shepherding ἡγούμενος in Matt 2:6 vis-à-vis 2 Sam 5:2 primarily in terms of justice and welfare, as well as systematically exploring the intertextual connections between Matthew and 1–2 Samuel thereby filling a lacuna in the secondary literature. The implications of this study make it a suitable interlocutor for those working in the fields of intertextuality, literary criticism, political theology, those exploring a comprehensive portrayal of Jesus as a son of David, as well as studies interested in a biblical theology of shepherding and leadership.

mentioned, I think that ignores Matthew's own style and theology. For reference see Willitts, *Matthew's Messianic Shepherd-King*, 157–73.

68 Here I follow Jonathan Pennington who likewise says Matthew's kingdom of heaven language is primarily about the nature and cosmic scope of Jesus' rule rather than the land. For reference see Pennington, *Heaven and Earth in the Gospel of Matthew*, 326–27.

69 It is beyond the scope of this study to give an overview of the secondary literature in this field of study. However, Jennifer Rosner has given a recent and short overview of a few divergent voices in the field. For reference see Jennifer M. Rosner, "The Land in Messianic Context," in *Covenant and the People of God: Essays in Honor of Mark S. Kinzer*, eds. Jonathan Kaplan, Jennifer M. Rosner and David J. Rudolph (Eugene, OR: Pickwick, 2023), 204–18.

Appendix

The following short chapter features a series of potential intertexts that are better suited to an appendix due to their lack of thematic coherence, explanatory power, and due to matters of concision. Some of the potential intertexts are still exposed to the methodology laid out in this study to underscore the method's usefulness. However, numerous proposed intertexts are dealt with briefly simply because they contain little-to-no markers and possess meager explanatory power.

10.1 1–2 Samuel in Matt 1:21

Wayne Baxter notes a parallel between the promise that Jesus σώσει τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν αὐτῶν (Matt 1:21) and David who σώσω τὸν Ἰσραὴλ ἐκ χειρὸς ἀλλοφύλων καὶ ἐκ χειρὸς πάντων τῶν ἐχθρῶν αὐτῶν (2 Sam 3:18 LXX/OG).¹ The singular lexical parallel is the word σώζω, and the thematic parallels are hardly analogous since Jesus is saving the people from their sins and David the people from the hand of all their enemies. Baxter is right that the word σώζω carries connotations of an earthly rescue, yet it seems speculative to suggest the word explicitly refers to political liberation from Roman occupation in Matthew.² The link to David in 2 Sam 3:18 is not unfeasible since Matt 1:21 follows the Davidic genealogy and the instance of Joseph being called a son of David. However, given the subversive intertext to David in Matt 1:6 and Matthew's overall anti-violent and anti-militaristic streak, a proposed intertextual interplay between Matt 1:21 and 2 Sam 3:18 seems strained and lacks explanatory power. As such, the link will not be pursued further.

10.2 1–2 Samuel in Matt 2:15, 19–21

While an explicit intertext has been clearly seen in Matt 2:6, Roland Deines suggests the strong Davidic motif in chapters one and two make it possible for the reader to see a striking “Übereinstimmung” between Matt 2:15, 19–21 and 2 Sam 2:1–4.³ Reading the fulfillment quotation from Hos 11:1 in Matt 2:15

¹ Baxter, “Whose King Is He Anyway?,” 244–45.

² Ibid., 245.

³ Deines, *Gerechtigkeit*, 475 n. 58.

and its larger context through a Davidic context, Deines suggests: “dieses Erfüllungszitat eine davidische Konnotation besitzt.”⁴

Deines notes three similarities. First, David received a word from YHWH to go up into the country (2 Sam 2:1), as did Joseph (2:20). Second, it is reported that David then took his two wives to Hebron (2 Sam 2:2) and Joseph took the child and Mary with him and went into the land of Israel (Matt 2:20). Third, David is anointed king in Hebron (2 Sam 2:4–5), while Matt 2:22–23 tells about the journey to Nazareth.⁵ It seems to me that Deines’ list creates more dissonance than resonance. Yes, one sees conceptual parallels, but the proposed intertextual links lack markers. Going to Hebron is different from going to the land of Israel and being anointed king in Hebron is also different from going to Nazareth. Secondly, the LXX/OG describes David’s going by using ἀναβαίνω (2 Sam 2:2), whereas Matthew uses εἰσερχομαι (Matt 2:21). Furthermore, David brings his γυναῖκες (2 Sam 2:2), but Joseph brings the child and τὴν μητέρα αὐτοῦ (Matt 2:20).

While Deines is correct that Moses and the Exodus are not mentioned in the genealogy and that the first chapters have a Davidic motif, the proposed intertextual interplay seems a stretch. The lexical markers are non-existent, and Deines proceeds to draw parallels to other parts of David’s life, namely when he hears of Saul’s death (2 Sam 1), which is then juxtaposed to Joseph learning of Herod’s death.⁶ These parallels are interesting and potentially fruitful, but they constitute a general typology, or parallel, rather than a proper intertextual link.

Deines’ attention to the broader parallels between David and Joseph is interesting, and the wider parallels between Matthew’s geography and that of David in 2 Sam 5 are noteworthy. In this respect, Deines approvingly cites J.R. Cousland, who notes that the regions where Jesus draws crowds “represent an idealized Israel similar in conception to ‘all the tribes of Israel’ who flock to David at 2 Sam 5:1.”⁷ Conceptual similarity does, again, not constitute a specific textual link. Instead, we have similar ideas between larger and scattered segments of the two texts. Lastly, Deines fails to proffer any kind of explanatory power regarding these parallels, and his aim seems to be to achieve a consistent Davidic interpretation even though he admits it might “zu weit hergeholt angesehen wird.”⁸

4 Deines, *Gerechtigkeit*, 475.

5 Ibid., 475 n. 58.

6 Ibid., 478 n. 63.

7 Cousland, *Crowds in the Gospel of Matthew*, 66.

8 Deines, *Gerechtigkeit*, 478.

10.3 1–2 Samuel in Matthew 2:16

Brian Nolan makes a claim that Matt 2:16 generates an intertextual link to 2 Sam 13:23⁹ via the lexical markers below.

καὶ ἐγένετο εἰς διετηρίδα ἡμερῶν (2 Sam 13:23 LXX/OG)
ἀπὸ διετοῦς καὶ κατωτέρω (Matt 2:16)

While this lexical link appears quite weak, Nolan suggests the two texts are thematically or conceptually comparable and that the intertextual interplay adds depth.¹⁰ Nolan does not elaborate on what this supposed new depth entails, nor are the proposed parallels enough to persuade this reader that an ideal reader may find an intertext here. The lexical marker of two years is used for time passed since a horrific incident in 2 Sam 13:23, whereas the two years and younger refers to the age of the victims in Matt 2:16.

10.3.1 *Implied or Explicit Intertextuality*

1: Identify the marker(s) in (A) and (B)	The primary markers would be the theme of a usurper of the throne as well as the lexical link between διετηρίδα/διετοῦς and the intended and actual murder(s) of a son of David.
2: Identify text (B)	Based on step one, the proposed intertext is 2 Sam 13:23
3: Actualization of evocation of text (B) in text (A)	It is difficult to see how text (B) furthers the story or plot in text (A). The actualization never materializes for the proposed intertext.

The intertext was available, and Matthew could have intended it. However, the intent becomes less likely when one considers how weak the proposed intertext is, in terms of both lexical markers and actualization. The proposed intertext does not appear in a formulaic fashion, and 2 Sam 13 is not referred to elsewhere, although other parts of 1–2 Samuel are. No other commentator has seen the proposed intertext, and it does not cohere with the rest of Matt 2

9 Brian Nolan, *The Royal Son of God: The Christology of Matthew 1–2 in the Setting of the Gospel*, OBO 23 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1979), 40–41.
10 Ibid., 41.

because the proposed intertext fails to develop the Matthean text and its plots and sub-plots. As such, we can label it as an implied intertext with little to no explanatory power.

10.3.2 *Conclusions and Narrative Implications*

While Nolan's proposal is intriguing, it can only be considered a weak implied intertext because of the lack of markers between text (A) and (B), including lexical, thematic, theological, and ideological parallels. In fact, no explanatory power seems to be produced by the actualization of the suggested intertext, and it does not yield any narrative developments and insights. While we cannot deny the intertext, since Nolan has picked up on it, we may note its shortcomings and classify it as an implied intertext with few markers and little to no explanatory power.

10.4 1–2 Samuel in Matt 4:1–11

Perhaps the most famous story of David is his battle against Goliath (1 Sam 17: 40–51). If one reads Matthew with 1–2 Samuel, the reader will likely expect to see this story somehow repeated in the life of Jesus. Patrick Schreiner suggests this story is recapitulated in Jesus' temptation by the devil in Matt 4:1–11.¹¹ This proposal, however, lacks markers. One finds no mention of a battle nor a reference to David and kingship. The proposed intertext thus lacks lexical markers as well as thematic coherence. While it is true both David and Jesus are dependent and loyal to YHWH in the two stories,¹² one could find numerous instances of dependent and loyal followers of YHWH in the Jewish Scriptures.¹³ In fact, it is perhaps the downfall of this proposed intertext that there are stronger intertextual links, which do not seem to fit well with the David and Goliath story.

It seems more fruitful to pursue a Moses typology and see an intertextual link to Exod 34:28, which shares lexical markers with Matt 4:1–3. The proposed intertext to Exod 34:28 also fits better with the explicit intertextual links to Deut 8:3 in Matt 4:4.¹⁴ The testing wilderness experiences of Moses in Exodus and Israel in Deuteronomy constitute a better thematic fit than David's battle against Goliath. I agree with Davies, Allison, and Crowe who

11 Patrick Schreiner, *Matthew, Disciple and Scribe: The First Gospel and Its Portrait of Jesus* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2019), 103.

12 Ibid., 103.

13 Keener, however, sees a conceptual parallel to 1 Sam 17 and 2 Sam 2:14–16 and notes that Jesus is cast as a representative "champion." For reference see Keener, *Matthew*, 138.

14 Crowe, *The Obedient Son*, 159–66.

think Deuteronomy is the key, unlocking a larger metaleptic picture of Jesus as Israel passing through the waters, being tempted in the desert by idolatry, suffering from hunger, and so on.¹⁵ While Schreiner's proposal is intriguing it hardly complements the primary intertext. Finally, Matthew may have excluded this story because of its violence. Matthew's Jesus is, after all, vehemently anti-violent, refusing to fit into messianic warrior expectations. Rather, he is the meek king who enters Jerusalem on a donkey, who allows violence to overtake him, and who commands his followers to sheathe their swords. In this way, Matthew's Jesus subverts violent expectations that could emerge from the Goliath story (1 Sam 17:40–51), and similar expectations we have seen in Psalms of Solomon 17.

The proposed intertext by Schreiner can be labeled as implied. It is, however, a quite weak one. While Matthew could have intended it, we see no lexical markers, no recognition of this proposed intertext in the history of interpretation except for Keener, and the intertext holds little explanatory power. In fact, it seems the exclusion of the intertextual link to the David and Goliath story may in fact have more explanatory power and better fit Matthew's overall portrayal of Jesus as a peaceful and non-violent son of David who sometimes inverts the acts of David in 1–2 Samuel.

10.5 1–2 Samuel in Matt 5:43–44

In Matthew 5:43–44, Jesus famously says people have heard they ought to love their neighbors and hate their enemies, but Jesus says they ought to love their enemies. The command to love one's neighbor is straightforwardly from Lev 19:18, but the command to hate one's enemies does not have a clear referent in the Jewish Scriptures. It might have functioned as a kind of credo in some Jewish circles, as evidenced in 1QS 1:9–10, where one should love the sons of light and hate the sons of darkness. Jesus' words to love your enemies (ἀγαπάτε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὑμῶν) might connect, intertextually, to Joab's condemning words to David who, after the Absalom revolt, is accused of loving those who hate him (τοῦ ἀγαπᾶν τοὺς μισοῦντάς σε; 2 Sam 19:7).

One of the major problems of this proposed intertext is its lack of clear thematic and lexical parallels and explanatory power. David's love for Absalom differs from the kind of love Jesus espouses. The one possible redeeming factor would be Jesus' final words, which link such a loving person to ὙΗΩΗ (Matt 5:48). Biblically speaking, one can view ὙΗΩΗ as the father of the whole

15 Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 1:352; Crowe, *The Obedient Son*, 159–66.

world, and thus he loves all his children even though they might act as his enemies. In this light, the proposed intertext to 2 Sam 19:6 and David's love for Absalom can make sense, yet it is still immensely tenuous.

Most interpreters do not see a link to 2 Sam 19:6, although Herman Waetjen notes the association.¹⁶ However, he fails to properly explain how this proposed link might help an ideal reader better understand Jesus' command. It seems an ideal reader could forge a connection between the two texts, yet we cannot classify this as anything but an implied intertext.

10.6 1–2 Samuel in Matt 10:30 and Matt 11:25–30

Craig Blomberg detects what he calls an “echo” of 1 Sam 14:45 in Matt 10:30¹⁷ where Jesus admonishes his disciples not to be afraid because YHWH cares for them and even knows all the hairs on their heads (ὅμων δὲ καὶ αἱ τρίχες τῆς κεφαλῆς πᾶσαι ἡριθμημέναι εἰσὶν; Matt 10:30). The proposed intertextual link refers to the story where Jonathan is being defended by the people who declare that none of his hairs shall fall to the ground, meaning he shall not die (εἰ πεσεῖται τῆς τριχὸς τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν; 1 Sam 14:45).

Lexical parallels emerge as the words τρίχες/τριχὸς and κεφαλῆς are present in both texts. However, the respective contexts are quite different as 1 Sam 14 speaks of Jonathan's potential death because of a legal offense, and Matt 10:30 speaks of fearing YHWH, who can kill both body and soul. Still, he cares and knows the hairs on the disciple's heads, a notion meant to underscore YHWH's power and knowledge and serve as a word of comfort to the disciples in their trials.¹⁸ Considering these substantial thematic and contextual differences, one should be hesitant to link the two texts, especially as the proposed intertext lacks explanatory power. One can thus classify it as implied intertext with little explanatory power. Given these weaknesses, it shall not be pursued further.

Joachim Gnailka further suggests a link to 2 Sam 14:11,¹⁹ which likewise speaks of the avoidance of death by using the phrase (εἰ πεσεῖται ἀπὸ τῆς τριχὸς τοῦ υἱοῦ σου ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν; 2 Sam 14:11). Similarly to the intertext proposed above, this one fails to provide a thematic link to Matt 10:30 and lacks explanatory power. Consequently, one is better served looking for illustrative parallels elsewhere,

16 Waetjen, *Matthew's Theology of Fulfillment*, 112.

17 Blomberg, “Matthew,” 35.

18 Müller, *Matthäusevangelium*, 271.

19 Gnailka, *Matthäusevangelium*, 1:388–89.

such as in Ps 40:12 and Ps 69:4.²⁰ Given the lack of narrative and thematic cohesion, the proposed intertext shall not be pursued further. Both suggestions by Blomberg and Gnilka are vulnerable to Huizenga's critique of hunting for sources and missing the intertext's function within Matthew's narrative logic.²¹

B.J. Oropeza suggests a parallel between Matt 11:25–30 and 2 Sam 7:8–29.²² The first parallel is the lexical marker καὶ ἀναπαύσω σε (2 Sam 7:11), and ἐγὼ ἀναπαύσω ὑμᾶς (Matt 11:28). However, the issue with the singular you and the plural in the two texts present a problem regarding coherence. Also, the rest granted in 2 Sam 7 is from enemies while Jesus' rest seems different. Oropeza also suggests a parallel in that both David (2 Sam 7:18–19) and Jesus (Matt 11:25–26) praise God. However, praise is fairly generic, and there are no significant lexical parallels in the two addresses to God. However, the father language in both texts creates an interesting thematic parallel. Nevertheless, Oropeza does not elaborate on the explanatory power of the similarities in the two texts, which are meager as it is. As such, we cannot consider this anything but an implied intertext with meager explanatory power.

10.7 1–2 Samuel in Matt 12:14–15

In Matthew 12:14–15 the Pharisees have become so irate they plot to kill Jesus, who in turn decides to withdraw from them. The preceding verses describe Jesus, the son of David, healing and otherwise doing acts of mercy on the Sabbath. Peter Leithart,²³ elaborating on the work of N.T. Wright,²⁴ sees this son of David parallel carrying into verses 14–15, which then has a potential intertextual link to 1 Sam 26–31 where David escapes from Saul to Philistia. However, this proposed intertext lacks specificity in terms of clear lexical parallels as well as thematic coherence, except that both Jesus and David are seemingly running for their lives. While seeing Jesus in a Davidic light is appropriate, Leithart seems to operate within a broader typological framework that

20 Dale C. Allison Jr., "The Hairs of Your Head Are All Numbered," *ExpTim* 101 (1990): 334.

21 Huizenga, *New Isaac*, 212.

22 B.J. Oropeza, "Jesus as Isaianic Servant and Davidic Son who Hides and Reveals Spiritual Knowledge (Matt. 11–13)," *Academia.edu* 7–8. https://www.academia.edu/23709391/Jesus_as_Isaianic_Servant_and_Davidic_Son_who_Reveals_Spiritual_Knowledge_Matt_11_13_.

23 Peter Leithart, "Jesus as Israel: The Typological Structure of Matthew's Gospel," *Theopolis Institute* April 24, 2007. 24–25. <https://theopolisinstitute.com/wp-content/uploads/edd/2015/09/jesus-as-israel-the-typological-structure-of-matthew-s-gospel.pdf>.

24 Wright, *Jesus and the Victory of God*, 393–94.

does not necessarily lend itself to a close intertextual investigation, namely the lexical connection between two specific texts.

Because no interpreters prior to Leithart have picked up on this proposed connection, and because the proposed intertext lacks lexical markers, we can barely label this as an implied intertext. The proposed intertext is of the weakest order, fitting in the same category as the proposed intertext in Matt 2:9, and does not carry any broader narrative implications. However, one may see Matt 12:14–5 in a manner that reinforces a larger Davidic typology within Matthew's Gospel, and an ideal reader might indeed see Jesus fleeing from the Pharisees as comparable to David escaping from Saul in 1 Sam 26–31.

10.8 1 Samuel 16 in Matt 12:28

In Matthew 12:28, Jesus drives out demons by the Spirit of YHWH, which Peter Leithart suggests might be thematically linked to David's therapeutic harp playing, which made the evil spirit leave Saul (1 Sam 16:23).²⁵ While the ideal reader's cultural encyclopedia contains information about the exorcistic powers of David and his son, the proposed link is rather more typological than intertextual. Jesus' Spirit-empowered activities have prompted others to see a potential link to 1 Sam 10:10,²⁶ where the Spirit causes Saul to prophesy. Such a proposal is even more tangential, and while the proposal shares the theme of empowerment of the Spirit, the work done as a result is different, namely exorcism versus prophecy.

Leithart's proposal contains no lexical parallels between text (A) and (B) and the differences, namely the instruments or the lack thereof, including the identities of the demon-possessed (Saul vs. unknown), as well as the presence of YHWH's Spirit, or lack thereof, give reason to pause. As with the previous dubious case, one can at best label this an implied intertext with little to no explanatory power. The lexical and thematic links are quite weak, and further investigations between these two texts will not be pursued.

25 Peter Leithart, *The Gospel of Matthew Through New Eyes*, 2 vols. (Monroe, LA: Athanasius Press, 2017), 1:251.

26 Fornberg, *Matteusevangeliet*, 1:232.

10.9 1–2 Samuel in Matt 12:32

A possible intertextual link might occur between Matt 12:32 and 1 Sam 3:14, which notes Eli's house has sinned in a manner wherein atonement seems impossible. Some see this as similar to the unforgivable sin of Matt 12:32.²⁷ In the larger context of 1 Sam 3, YHWH declares he will judge Eli's house because his sons spoke evil toward/cursed YHWH, a notion which parallels Matthew's insistence that blaspheming the Holy Spirit is unforgivable. While the word (κακολογέω) in 1 Sam 3:13 is different from the ones used in Matt 12:31–2 (βλασφημία/λέγω λόγον κατὰ), they appear conceptually analogous and present similar meanings in their respective literary contexts.

A thematic link between the texts is that certain acts of unrighteousness cannot be forgiven. A further thematic link is that this specific sin is related to speaking against or blaspheming that which is divine (1 Sam 3:13; Matt 12:31). While Matthew could have intended the allusion, ancient commentators are silent on the matter. Only recent interpreters such as David L. Turner and Craig Blomberg see the proposed connection.²⁸ Furthermore, the proposed intertext barely satisfies the thematic coherence and satisfaction criteria. Overall, it seems reasonable that the ideal reader could have picked up on the proposed intertextual link. However, it seems prudent to label this an implied intertext. The emphasis on unrighteousness in 1 Sam 3:14 only fits somewhat with Matthew's focus on righteousness, and the proposed intertext would thus inform the ideal reader that blaspheming against the Holy Spirit is an unrighteous act of the highest degree. Rather than an intertextual link, it would be better to consider this a conceptual parallel.

10.10 1 Sam 28:8 in Matt 14:26–28

Craig Blomberg notes a possible link between 1 Sam 28:8 and Matt 14:26–28²⁹ where Jesus is initially thought to be a ghost walking upon the waters. The proposed intertext is to the famous story of Saul seeking the woman of En-Dor to act as a medium and summon the dead prophet, Samuel. On a lexical level, we see no parallels. But thematically, we have a conceptual similarity by way of spirits/ghosts in both texts. However, it is difficult to see how the ideal reader

27 Blomberg, "Matthew," 44; Turner, *Matthew*, 323.

28 While they do not use the word "intertextuality" they specifically note how these two texts share similar ideas. Blomberg, "Matthew," 44; Turner, *Matthew*, 323.

29 Blomberg, "Matthew," 50.

would connect the two texts and how the proposed intertext enhances the reader's understanding of Matthew's narrative. Further, we notice a complete lack of historical precedent since I have found no other interpreters linking the two texts. One can, at best, label this as an implied intertext of the weakest order. Given these weaknesses, we shall not pursue it further.

10.11 1–2 Samuel in Matt 16:22–23

Poul Nepper-Christensen and Mogens Müller, along with the crossferences in NA²⁸, suggest a potential intertext between Matt 16:22 and 2 Sam 20:20.³⁰ In 2 Samuel, Joab claims he will not devour and destroy (ἰλεώς μοι ἰλεώς μοι εἰ καταποντιῶ καὶ εἰ διαφθερῶ; 2 Sam 20:20). Having heard Jesus saying he must go to Jerusalem, Peter objects and says ἰλεώς σοι (Matt 16:22). Aside from the one lexical parallel, ἰλεώς, and while both Peter and Joab protest something, the larger contexts of the two episodes do not readily lend themselves to comparison. Therefore, a potential intertext to 2 Sam 20:20 will not be pursued further. A better possibility would be to investigate a potential intertext to Isa 54:10, which shares two lexical parallels and fits better thematically.

10.12 1–2 Samuel in Matt 22 and 26

Matthew 22 contains several possible intertextual links to 1–2 Sam, and we shall thus investigate them together. First, several commentators note the horrible treatment of the king's messengers in Jesus' parable (Matt 22:6) has a parallel in 2 Sam 10:4.³¹ The story of 2 Sam 10 is retold in 2 Chronicles 30:10 as well as in Josephus (*Ant.* 9.263–6), which means the likelihood of Matthew knowing and using the story is greater. However, the two texts lack markers. While a king is present in both stories, the messengers are not killed in 2 Sam 10, nor is the enemy city burned. The proposed intertext does not contain any explanatory power nor enough markers, nor does the proposed intertext help elucidate Matt 22:6. One may classify this as an implied intertext of the weakest order and is thus not pursued further.

In Matthew 22:15, we encounter a New Testament *hapax legomenon* (παγι-δεύσωσιν), which only occurs in 1 Sam 28:9 and Eccl 9:12 within the Jewish Scriptures, thus prompting a further investigation. Aside from the lexical

30 Nepper-Christensen, *Matthäusevangeliet*, 203; Müller, *Matthäusevangeliet*, 374; NA²⁸, 52.

31 Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 3:201; Müller, *Matthäusevangeliet*, 454.

marker, the larger narrative contexts are quite different. While we have one *Stichwort* (παγιδεύωσιν), we lack further substantive markers. The proposed intertext is thus implied and does not contain much explanatory power, nor does it help advance Matthew's larger themes. We shall, therefore, not pursue the proposed intertext further.

The NA²⁸ lists a potential link between Matt 22:16 and 1 Sam 16:7. Looking at the two texts, one sees at least some lexical parallels, although the larger context seems different in the two narratives. But the parallel works, albeit not perfectly, because Jesus, like YHWH, is not swayed by people's external features. Both see the heart of humans. Maier notes the proposed link and says: "Jesus wird hier derselbe Charakter zugesprochen wie ihn Gott besitzt (1 Sam 16,7)."³² While ancient commentators and most modern commentators have not noted the possible link,³³ Maier's observation lends credibility to the proposed intertext. Matthew's own narrative uses the Greek idiom to underscore that Jesus is not swayed by anyone's status, which is different from the context in 1 Sam 16:7. However, the larger context of Matthew 22 does suggest Jesus knows the hearts, or motives, of his opponents which in turn opens up for a fruitful intertextual dialogue between the two texts. The proposed intertext thus has a modicum of explanatory power, although the contexts of the two stories are quite different. Given the lack of thematic coherence, and failing to fulfill the criterion of satisfaction, we can label this as an implied intertext.

Another potential intertext occurs in Matt 22:43, which might connect to 2 Sam 23:2. Here, Jesus is now questioning the Pharisees, asking them whose son the messiah is. As they answer that the messiah is David's son, Jesus proceeds to ask why David, speaking by the Spirit, calls him κύριον and then quotes from Ps 109/110. The proposed intertext to 2 Sam 23:2 is thus already tenuous because Matthew indicates that the primary intertext is Ps 109/110. In the proposed intertext to 2 Samuel, David is said to speak by the Spirit (πνεῦμα κυρίου ἐλάλησεν ἐν ἐμοί καὶ ὁ λόγος αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ γλώσσης μου; 2 Sam 23:2 LXX/OG). The lexical parallels to Matt 22:43 are thus the words, πνεῦμα, λέγω, κύριος, and Δαυίδ. However, these are fairly common words and they occur in different order and inflection in the two texts, and the proposed intertext to 2 Sam 23:2 does not help elucidate the link to Psalm 110. Both ancient and modern scholars do not refer to the connection other than noting that 2 Sam 23:2, as well as other texts,

32 Maier, *Evangelium des Matthäus*, 2:324.

33 No one elaborates on the intertextual link like Maier, but Hagner does mention the parallels between the two texts in a parenthesis, see Hagner, *Matthew 14–28*, 635, as does France in a footnote, see France, *Matthew*, 829 n. 2.

mention David speaking by the Holy Spirit.³⁴ As such, we shall not pursue the proposed intertext further and simply label it as an implied intertext that hardly amounts to anything but vague parallelism.

Nathan Johnson suggests parallels between the struck shepherd in Matt 26:31 and David as a shepherd in 2 Sam 24.³⁵ While this project has previously seen the benefit of a double allusion or window reference, this can hardly be used in this case since no one has argued for 2 Sam 24:17 as a backdrop for Zech 13:7. Indeed, the criterion of history of interpretation is scarce. While I do see David acting in a nurturing and protective manner, he still admits culpability for his sin, something Jesus does not. While the proposed intertext works to highlight the willing sacrifice of Jesus and David, the main reason I hesitate to treat this intertext further is the lack of attestation of any relationship between Zech 13:7 and 2 Sam 24:17, and that the outcome of striking the shepherd is the scattering of the sheep, a notion that does not fit into the context of 2 Sam 24:17. Although offering fascinating parallels, we shall thus not pursue the tenuous intertext further but note that it constitutes an implied intertext with a limited degree of explanatory power.

Johnson also suggests a link from Matt 26:62–63 to Ps 38:13–14, which then has a shared motif with 2 Sam 16:11b–12.³⁶ The point here seems to be that just as Jesus did not say a word to his accusers, so David kept silent in Psalm 38. Johnson suggests that this silence connects with “David’s peaceful response to Shimei’s stones and insults.”³⁷ Amongst ancient commentators, Johnson finds a comment in Ambrose’s commentary of the Psalms to support this proposed link.³⁸ However, a thematic link of silence between Matt 26:62–63 and Psalm 38:13–14 hardly evokes the image of David verbally telling all his officials to leave Shimei alone. David is not silent in this episode but does not kill Shimei. The parallels do not quite match, and while this is an interesting link, it does not render any lexical parallels, and only some tenuous thematic parallels at best.

34 Maier, *Evangelium des Matthäus*, 2:349.

35 Johnson, “Passion According to David,” 260.

36 Johnson, *The Suffering Son of David*, 125.

37 Ibid., 124.

38 *Comm. Ps. 37.46–47* (CSEL 64:175).

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Although the Gospel of Matthew emphasizes Jesus as the son of David, no one has systematically investigated how 1-2 Samuel influence Matthew's portrayal of Jesus as the son of David. This work addresses that lacuna and shows how the sustained use of 1-2 Samuel in Matthew evokes the themes of mercy and righteousness as the hallmarks of a proper Davidic shepherd. The book's systematic intertextual and narrative approach offers another way to understand Matthew's Christology and portrayal of the kingdom of heaven. It helps the reader appreciate the justice-focused nature of Jesus' rule and its religious and political implications.

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ISBN: 978-90-04-69388-3



9 789004 693883

BIBLICAL INTERPRETATION SERIES, 222

ISSN 0928-0731

brill.com/bins